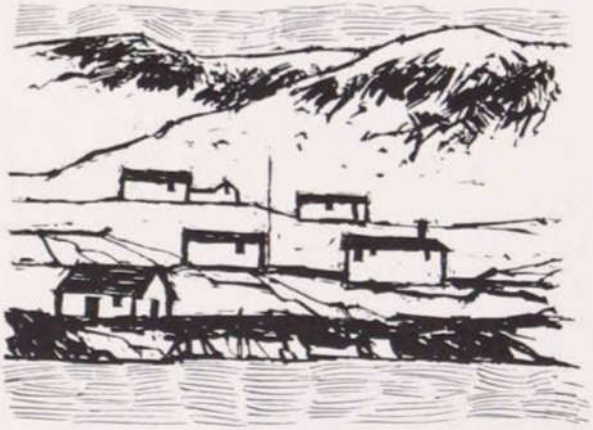
The Beaver

SPRING 1974

from sea to sea...

across the span

of three centuries



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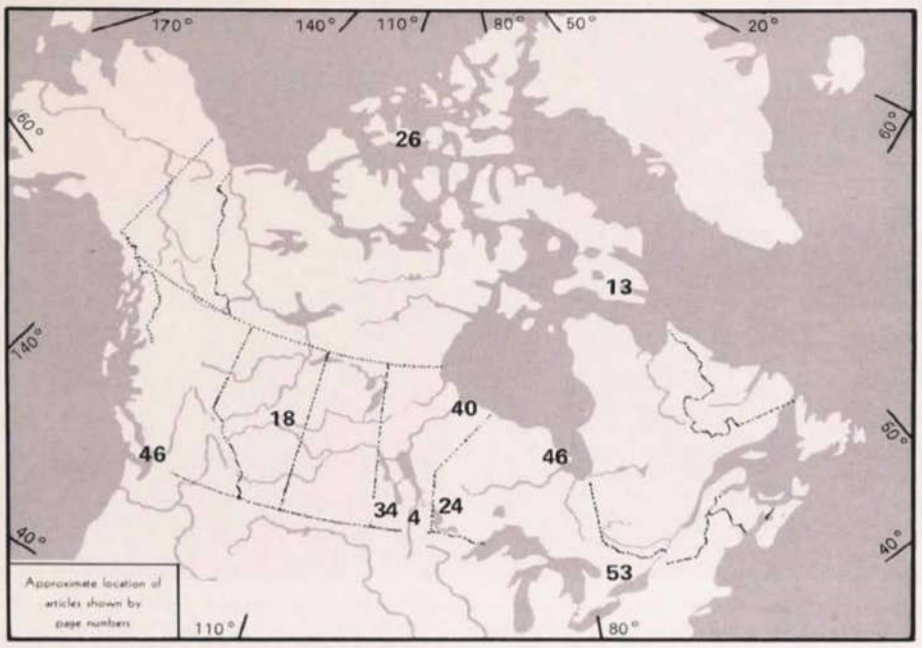

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COVER: 'Some Prairie Flowers and a Prairie Dog' a water-colour by Edward Roper painted at 'Broadview near Assiniboia. N.W.T. Aug. 4, 1887.' From the collection of the Public Archives of Canada.

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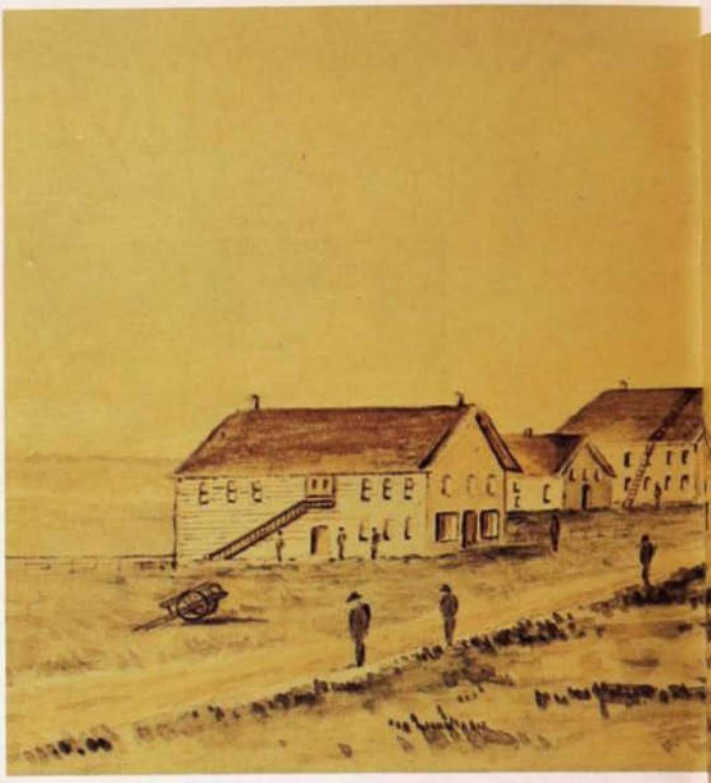
Alexander Logan.

MANITOBA ARCHIVES



H B C ARCHIVES

MAYOR ALEXANDER LOGAN OF WINNIPEG

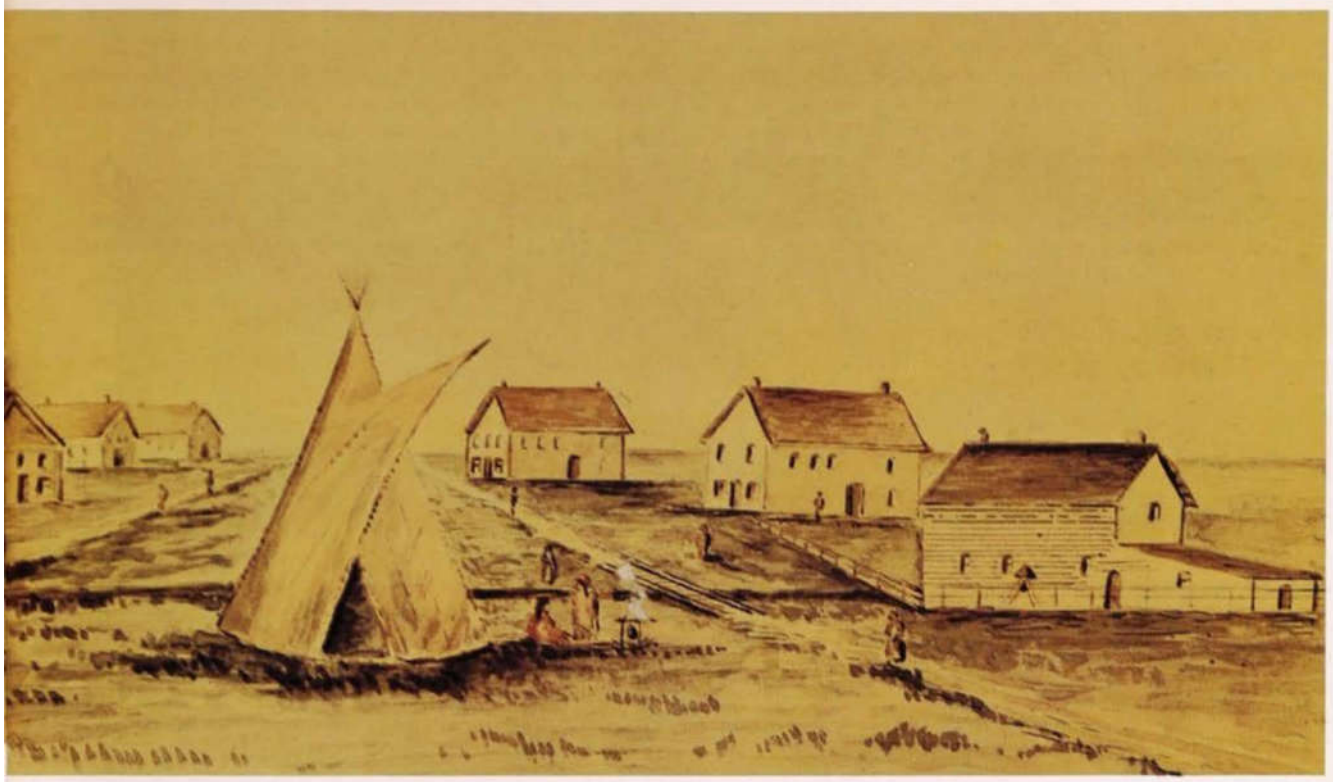
BY A. F. T. ARTIBISE

Dr Artibise is Chairman, Department of Social Science, at Cariboo College in Kamloops, B.C.

ALEXANDER LOGAN served on city council as alderman (1874-1878) and as mayor (1879, 1880, 1882, and 1884) during one of Winnipeg's most rapid periods of growth. He was directly involved in almost every project undertaken to promote the city's growth and prosperity during these years. From his first day on city council, Logan's faith in Winnipeg never wavered. Through all its ups and downs, through prosperity and adversity, Logan never lost the clear conviction that Winnipeg was to be the 'Chicago of the Canadian Prairies' and 'the Bull's Eye of the Dominion'. Quite naturally he became a leader in community affairs.

During his years in office Winnipeg grew from a small hamlet of less than 2,000 inhabitants to a bustling city of over 16,000. The growth in city assessment was even more extraordinary. From a low of $2,676,000 in 1874 it rose to $9,196,000 in 1884. Given the concern of Winnipeg's citizens with continued expansion, these statistics were the best record a civic politican could have. Only when this rapid rate of growth seemed threatened in 1884 did Logan's popularity decline.

Variously known as 'Alex' or 'Sandy', Logan was born at Fort Douglas in November 1841, the first son of 'Robert Logan of Red River'. Since Fort Douglas was within the boundaries of the City of Winnipeg when it was incorporated in 1873, Logan long held the distinction of being the only native of the city to have



By 1870, when J. R. Simpson painted this water-colour 'Main Street Fort Garry, 1870. Looking North', Logan had inherited more than 100 acres of land on Point Douglas. He entered civic politics four years later.

become mayor. He was educated at Anglican St John's College, one of the three colleges that were to unite to form the University of Manitoba in 1877. Completing his studies at age sixteen, Logan then worked on his father's estate and in his father's store. During this period, from 1857 to 1866, he lived what has been called a 'humdrum kind of life', occasionally relieved by visits to St. Paul, Minnesota, for supplies.

By both birth and marriage, Alexander Logan was one of the leading members of Winnipeg's social elite. His father had come to the Red River district in 1819, and from 1825 until his death in 1866 he lived at Point Douglas. During this period Robert Logan served as sheriff of Assiniboia and as a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. He also owned over one hundred acres of land on which the business section of Winnipeg is now located. Robert Logan was, in short, one of the 'foremost men' in the early development of Winnipeg, and the Logan name was prominent among the pioneers of the city. Alexander Logan was also closely bound by marriage to three important Winnipeg families. By his own marriage to Maria Lane in 1867, Logan became tied to the wealthy McDermot and Bannatyne families; his wife was a grand-daughter of Andrew McDermot and a niece of A. G. B. Bannatyne. One of Logan's family of eight children married Richard D. Waugh, mayor of Winnipeg (1912, 1913, and 1916).

At the age of 25, Alexander Logan inherited his father's estate on Point Douglas. It is impossible to assess its value in 1866, but by 1875 the Logan estate was assessed at $53,000, the third highest private assessment in Winnipeg. Logan, however, was even more prosperous than this figure indicates. As early as 1871 he was subdividing the Logan estate and selling lots at a rapid rate. Indeed, it was reported that in the boom days of the later 1870s Logan became a millionaire through land speculation. During 1871 he was also involved in importing cattle into Winnipeg. And, when the C P R main line was run through Point Douglas in the early 1880s, Logan was still a large landowner and was still subdividing and selling property.

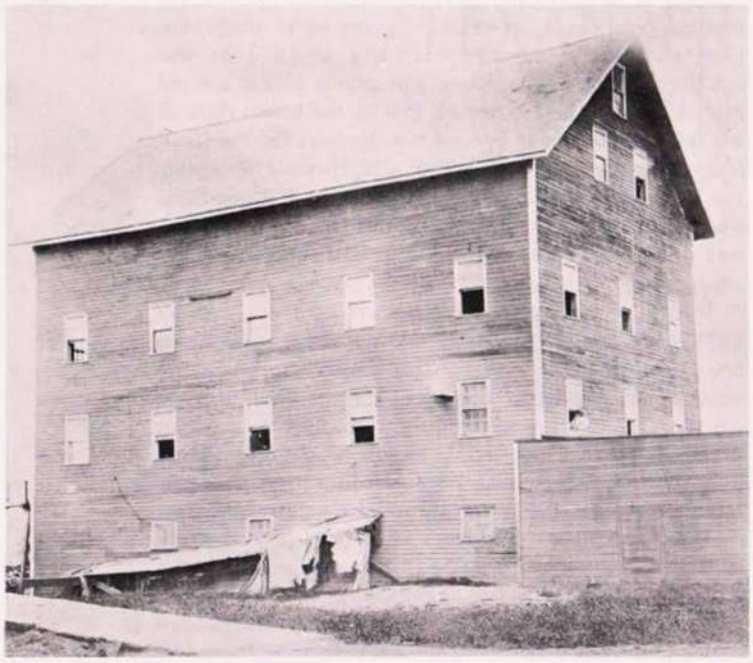
It can be said with some assurance, then, that by 1879 Alexander Logan was wealthy, and that he had a continued interest in real estate values. Both are important factors when considering his career in civic politics. His wealth allowed him to devote a major portion of his time to the affairs of the city. More important, however, was Logan's connection with real estate. With the continued and rapid growth of the city, no other investment yielded such a high return as did land. But to say that Logan had a personal interest in the growth of Winnipeg is not to criticize him for conflict of interest. This was a time when all Winnipeg businessmen felt that the expansion of economic enterprise should be

the prime concern of the local government. Logan was not exceptional in his belief that personal and public growth, personal and public prosperity, were indistinguishable. He was exceptional only in his success as a civic politician.

The overriding issue of Logan's first six years in politics – especially his first two terms as mayor in 1879 and 1880 – was the railway question. In view of the obvious inadequacies of the Dawson Route it is no surprise that there was a demand in Manitoba for early railway connections with Eastern Canada. The residents of Winnipeg, in particular, were convinced that the most important feature in the economic life of their community was its commercial connection with the rest of the world. No city, they reasoned, could enjoy any considerable prosperity or make notable social progress without a flourishing commerce with other cities. Indeed, Winnipeg's businessmen, led by Mayor Logan, were so sure of the truth of this argument that they were prepared to do almost anything to attract railways to the city. Railways were the key to growth, the one essential without which all plans for Winnipeg would fail. The *Manitoba Free Press* stated the issue bluntly: 'The two great wants of this country are railroads and settlers. The former is necessary to secure the latter.'

These hopes for an early railway link with the East appeared guaranteed when the federal government committed itself in 1871 to a transcontinental railway by an agreement with the newly created Province of British Columbia. From this first announcement of plans for a Pacific Railway, Winnipeg residents were little concerned with any aspects of the undertaking other than the choice of a route and the time required to connect Winnipeg with the East. Of these two considerations the former was by far the more important. The selection of the route would affect the direction and speculative element in settlement. Lands on or near the main line would obviously be of greater value than those more distant. Indeed, a community's future depended on its proximity to the railway. As long as the location of the railway through Winnipeg could be assured, temporary delays in construction could be endured.

The H B C Fort Garry mill, built in 1872 near the present location of Union Station, made a fine grade of flour that was shipped abroad, as far as the Fiji Islands. It stopped operation in 1907.



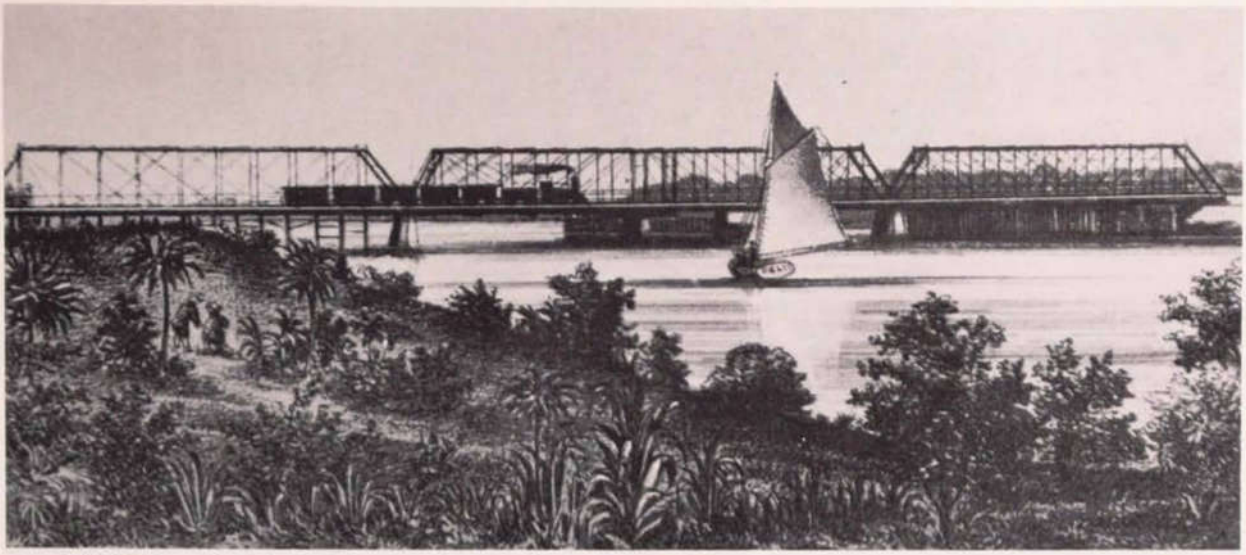
The promise of an early and direct railway link with the East lasted only until December 1874. At that time the Liberal government of Alexander Mackenzie announced that the transcontinental railway would pass to the north of Winnipeg, bypassing the city completely. The population reacted immediately to news of the route change. A Citizen's Railway Committee was formed in December 1874 and a petition protesting the change was drawn up. A delegation that included Mayor Kennedy and a prominent businessman was then sent off to Ottawa to plead Winnipeg's case.

The delegation, which reached Ottawa in March 1875, was only the first of many such efforts to effect a route change. Indeed, during the next five years the railway question so dominated Winnipeg's newspapers and city council that little else was accomplished in the way of local improvements. This was only natural; if Winnipeg was not to be on the main line, there was no sense in making plans or carrying out improvements.

This was the situation when Alexander Logan became mayor by acclamation in 1879. The only promising development was that John A. Macdonald and the Conservative party had been returned to office in September 1878. During the campaign the Conservatives had broadly hinted that, if elected, they would pass the transcontinental line through Winnipeg. City council grasped at this hope.

During the first three months of 1879, Mayor Logan and his council waited anxiously for some announcement from the new Conservative government. But even while waiting, council continued to send telegrams and memorials to Ottawa urging a change in the route of the railway. Finally, early in April, the federal government announced that the prairie section of the Pacific Railway would be built along a more southerly route than that projected by the previous government and, furthermore, that insofar as possible the railway would be built through existing centres of population. To the great consternation of Mayor Logan however, the federal Minister of Public Works, Charles Tupper, made it clear that the main line still would not pass through Winnipeg.

Following this clarification, Mayor Logan acted swiftly. In order to persuade the federal government to change the route, he had a by-law passed to raise $300,000. This money was to be used to construct a



MANITOBA ARCHIVES

In 1870, Mayor Logan had a by-law passed to raise $300,000 to build the Louise bridge across the Red River, an inducement to the federal government to run the transcontinental line of the C P R through Winnipeg.

bridge across the Red River at Winnipeg, thus saving the government this expenditure. But Mayor Logan and his council did not stop here in offering inducements. During the remainder of 1879 and throughout 1880, they continued to negotiate with the federal government and the C P R syndicate. The inducements offered included a $200,000 cash bonus, 'exemption from taxation forever' for all property 'now owned or hereafter to be owned' by the railway in the city, and free land for a passenger station. Although these final arrangements were not completed until the spring of 1881, it was clear that the driving force behind them was Mayor Logan.

The decision that the main line of the C P R would pass through Winnipeg seemed to guarantee that the city would become the hub of commercial activity in the Northwest. In ensuing years this prospect was more than fulfilled as Winnipeg rapidly became the most populous and prosperous community in Western Canada. To Mayor Logan and his supporters, these events justified the enormous cost of obtaining the C P R. With few exceptions, the actions of Mayor Logan during 1879 and 1880 were lauded throughout the city.

Yet it is possible to question the wisdom of Logan's actions during this period. He had succeeded in his negotiations with the C P R at a very high cost to future generations. But the real tragedy of Logan's railway policy was that it was probably unnecessary. Once the building of the C P R was placed in the hands of a private company – the C P R syndicate – the likelihood of Winnipeg receiving the main line was high. A private company, more concerned with immediate profits than long-range goals, would be more likely to pass the line through the settled region around Winnipeg than through the undeveloped region to the north. In the boom that would surely follow the passing of the C P R through Winnipeg, property could be sold at high prices. Neither Mayor Logan nor city council were in a cautious mood and, urged on by the Winnipeg Board of Trade, the inducements were given to the C P R.

At the time, however, the great majority of citizens felt that Mayor Logan had conducted himself in an exemplary manner. His unfailing efforts to attract the C P R to Winnipeg had been successful and throughout 1880 and 1881 he was at the height of his popularity. It was to be a very long time before his judgement in regard to railway matters was questioned.

Alexander Logan was elected to his third term as Mayor in December, 1881. His campaign against Alderman Robert Strong was based on a promise 'to use his influence to secure certain civic reforms . . . in keeping with the rapid pace of the times. On the other hand, Mr. Strong's views were in the direction of economy. But these were not the days in which economy could be successfully preached.' When the votes were counted, Logan had 'piled up the tremendous majority of 430.' Moreover, the twelve aldermen elected to city council for 1882 were 'in harmony with Logan's progressive policy.'

Logan's reputation as a 'paragon of boosterism' was strongly reinforced during his 1882 term. Although city council dealt with a multitude of issues during that year, two areas of activity deserve special attention. These were the campaign to attract immigrants to the City of Winnipeg and its hinterland, and the attempt to make Winnipeg the 'Port of the Northwest'.

In the years prior to 1877, Winnipeg's civic leaders had been content to leave the promotion of immigration in the hands of the federal government. When the results

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

The Winnipeg-St Boniface ferry leaving from Lombard Street, c.1880.

of the federal program of western settlement proved unsatisfactory, however, civic leaders began to take an active part in the search for immigrants. One approach to the problem was to give financial support to publications that were favourable to the city and surrounding countryside. During Logan's 1879 term city council paid $120 for 2,000 copies of Thomas Spence's, *Prairie Lands of Canada*, which included information on Winnipeg. In July of the same year they bought 200 copies of *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, by Alexander Begg and Walter R. Nursey, a book covering the period 1869-1879. In each case a special committee was appointed to distribute the books. This program was continued throughout Logan's years as mayor. Indeed, during 1879, 1880, and 1882 the city's subscription to pamphlets, books, and maps favourable to Winnipeg reached its highest point.

Mayor Logan and his 'progressive' council also took other measures to advertise Winnipeg during this period. In co-operation with the provincial department of agriculture and statistics they sent a display to the Ontario Provincial Exhibition in Kingston in 1882. During the same year they provided a free lunch and tour of Winnipeg for a group of Ontario press agents and for railway conductors. Considerable effort and expense was also put forward for the visit of the British Association for the Advancement of Scienee in 1884 and a special souvenir pamphlet was written for the scientists.

Winnipeg's program of advertising, combined with the federal government's, brought tremendous results. During 1882 the population of the city increased by 5,000 to a total of 14,000. Such rapid growth, however, was accompanied by severe problems. Immigrants arriving in Winnipeg had to be accommodated. The federal government had some facilities in the city, but the influx soon overtaxed the federal immigration sheds. Accordingly, Mayor Logan and city council decided to open a city immigration shed. By the end of March 1882, a building with sixty rooms on two floors and a large room with thirty bunks was opened and a caretaker hired. Winnipeg, in contrast to the free federal government accommodation, charged fifty cents a day for rooms and fifteen cents a day for the use of bunks. During its short period of operation the shed did a thriving business. In 1882 it made a net profit of $2,000. The sheds continued to operate for two more years but, because of a severe economic recession, were closed down after the 1884 season.

Logan's second major area of concern during 1882 was the question of Red River navigation. The Red River between St. Paul, Minnesota and Winnipeg had been used as a natural highway for both commerce and immigration since 1859. In fact, the development of

shipping on this stretch of the river was so successful that the city's businessmen began to talk about utilizing the river and lake system that existed north of Winnipeg. Apart from an obstruction at St. Andrew's Rapids sixteen miles north of the city, navigation was possible, they insisted, all the way north to Hudson Bay and west as far as Edmonton and even the Yukon. St. Andrew's Rapids, however, so impeded navigation that passage on the forty-mile stretch of river between Winnipeg and Lake Winnipeg was possible only with very light boats during periods of high water. In short, for the river and lake system north of Winnipeg to be of any value to the city, the obstruction at St. Andrew's had to be removed.

A memorial to the federal government calling for improvements in the navigation of the Red River north of Winnipeg was forwarded to Ottawa by Mayor Logan in October 1882. The memorial outlined in some detail the advantages that would accrue to the city if the proposed improvements to navigation were carried out. These included the opening of the wood and mineral resources of Lake Winnipeg, the development of a vigorous fishing industry on the lake, and, most important, the opening of 'the most direct and natural route for transporting the grain of the west to the markets of the old country.' It was further argued that as the route would be economically viable, it would attract American farmers as well as the trade of Manitoba, and the region drained by the Saskatchewan river system. Winnipeg, as the major inland port, would carry on a booming business.

Logan's efforts during 1882 were the first formal attempts to make Winnipeg the 'Port of the Northwest'. The federal government, however, did not take any action that year and it was not until 1910 that the obstruction at St. Andrew's had been overcome. Yet Logan's efforts are significant. Besides adding another dimension to his many-sided career he began the campaign to improve navigation with such convincing arguments that every succeeding mayor and council gave the matter high priority. Regardless of the long-term value of the project – and it is questionable – it does highlight the energetic efforts of Logan and his contemporaries.

By the end of his third term as mayor in 1882, Logan was undoubtedly one of Winnipeg's 'first citizens'. He could look back on a number of significant achievements and could point to several projects he had initiated that would blossom in later years. In an era when scandal and controversy seemed to surround public office, Logan's honesty and integrity were unquestioned. Had Logan permanently retired from civic politics at this juncture his enviable reputation would have remained intact. But a series of events, beginning in the spring of 1883, resulted in his running for the mayoralty for a fourth time.

During 1881, 1882, and part of 1883, Winnipeg was experiencing a real estate boom. It began primarily as a result of the optimistic predictions that accompanied the decision to locate the western shops and yards of the C P R in Winnipeg. Following this announcement in the spring of 1881, Winnipeg experienced the wildest months in its history. The boom started with the speculation in Winnipeg lots and Manitoba townsites and continued with a mounting delirium; lots in Edmonton, Prince Albert, and even Port Moody were bought and sold in Winnipeg in a turmoil of gambling excitement. City hotels, some of which had only canvas roofs, were crowded. The many bars which sprung up overnight were jammed and noisy, early and late. All the frontier gambling devices were in operation and the merchants did a roaring trade. Stories of great fortunes picked up in this new 'El Dorado' flew about, and the more exaggerated they were the more readily they were believed by all the hopeful people in a community where almost everyone was dreaming of sudden wealth from land speculation.

The boom, of course, had a significant effect on civic politics. Prior to 1881 municipal affairs in Winnipeg, with the exception of negotiations with the C P R, had been routine and progress in civic projects had matched the slow population growth of Winnipeg. But almost overnight this slow pace quickened. Describing the state of municipal politics between 1881 and 1884 the *Winnipeg Times* noted:

> For years Winnipeg has been governed on the high pressure principle . . . When the council showed a disposition to lag in the race for fame it was promptly spurred on by the citizens, who sent in a petition for this and got up a mass meeting for that and the other. There was no rest, no cessation. Other cities had sewers, and paved streets, and expensive public buildings . . . As Winnipeg was the greatest city on earth, it would never do to be eclipsed by such slow growing places as Toronto or Montreal, and all these things had to be provided at once. Expense was no object. Get the money any way it could be raised and go on. So little concerned were the citizens about expenditure that a by-law to raise over a million dollars attracted no attention – what cared Winnipeg for such a trifle as that? We rushed forward with a full head of steam on. Extravagance was in the air. We swaggered, and boasted, and puffed until we were busting with happiness. Nothing was too good for us, and the more it cost the better.

The 'extravagance' complained of by the editor was based on two developments. Winnipeg's population had more than doubled during the boom, rising from slightly over 6,000 in 1881 to about 15,000 in 1883. Accompanying the sharply rising population figures was an equally astounding rise in Winnipeg's land and building assessments. At incorporation in November 1873 this figure had stood at $2,500,000 and rose but slowly to $4,000,000 in 1880. In 1881 it was estimated to stand at $9,000,000 while in 1882 the optimistic civic authorities calculated the assessment at $30,000,000. At least part of this vast increase was due to the addition of Fort Rouge to the city in 1882, but later accounts would show that the greatest proportion was simply the result of vastly inflated land values which accompanied the boom. Four years later, in 1886, the assessment stood at $22,000,000.

Inflated or not, it was on the basis of these figures that the city council of 1881, 1882, and 1883 set about to improve the city. Prior to 1882 Winnipeg had issued three sets of bonds for civic improvements. In 1874 a $250,000 bond was issued for the construction of a city hall and a wooden sewer system. In 1880 a $300,000 bond was used for the construction of the Louise Bridge across the Red River. And, in 1881, another bond issue of $200,000 was handed over to the C P R syndicate as a bonus for establishing its workshops in Winnipeg. Thus at the outset of the boom in the spring of 1881, the total bonded indebtedness of Winnipeg stood at $650,000. Mayor Logan and his 'progressive' council, however, quickly responded to the boom in 1882 by passing a by-law to raise $1,250,000 for 'permanent improvements to the city'.

During 1882 and 1883 this huge sum of money was quickly and easily spent on a variety of projects including a new city hall, a new sewer system, a police station, a fire hall, and street and bridge improvements. In fact, the money was spent so quickly that council found it necessary in November, 1883 to submit a by-law for another $500,000 in bonds to cover expenditures already made. But by this time the business leaders felt that things had gotten out of control.

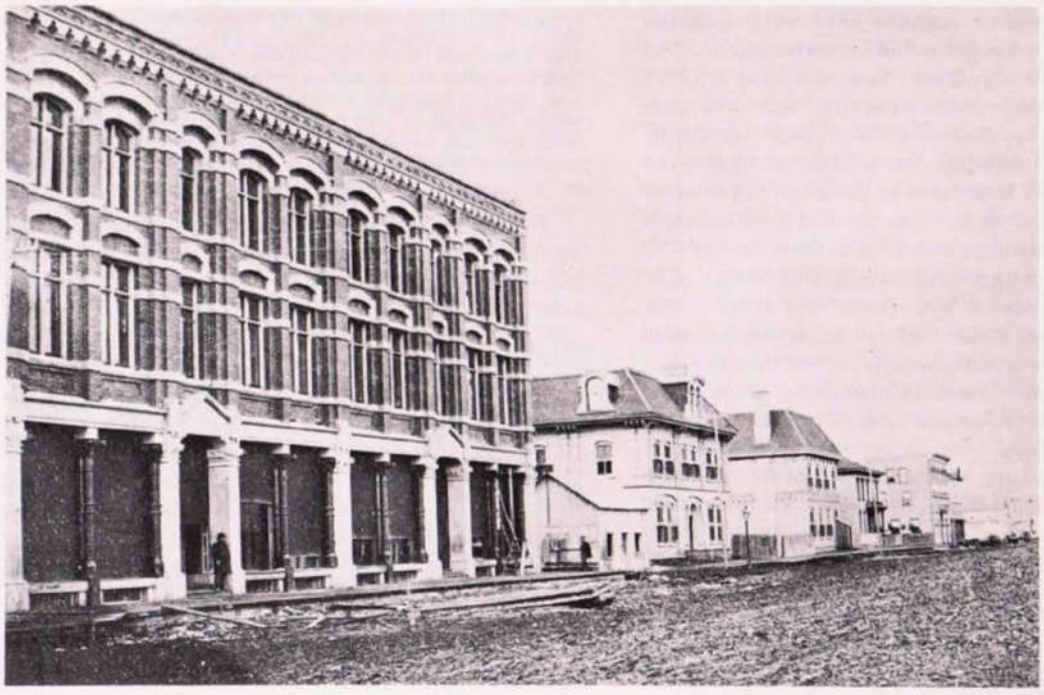
The first sign that something was amiss in municipal affairs was when the *Winnipeg Times*, in April 1883, called attention to the soaring cost of the new city hall, 'the dreadful condition of the streets', and the 'culpable negligence and incompetence that mark the administration of the city's affairs', a condition, the editor was sure, 'that no businessman would tolerate in the management of his business or estate.' At first the only response to these criticisms came from Winnipeg businessmen and aldermen who felt 'that recent criticisms of the city council are injudicious because likely to hurt the city.' But the businessmen, led by the Winnipeg Board of Trade, soon began to take such comments more seriously.

At least part of the elite's concern with the conduct of civic affairs was a reaction to the collapse of the real estate boom. Although the end of the boom was apparent as early as April 1882, many had optimistically clung to the hope that the check was only temporary. By the spring of 1883, however, it had become painfully clear to all that the inflated property valuations and brisk business activity of the boom years would not soon be restored. It was with this gloomy outlook that Winnipeg's businessmen turned to a close examination of the municipal corporation.

The first action taken was to call a 'citizen's meeting' in May 1883. The meeting decided to form a Property Owner's Association whose object it would be:

> To protect the citizens from unnecessary or wasteful outlay in civic matters; to consider carefully all proposals for the creation of loans to be raised upon the security of the property of citizens; to watch the expenditure of the proceeds of the loans; to consider the proceedings of city council, and prevent as far as possible all unwise or wasteful proceedings on their part; and generally to ensure the honest careful and judicious management of the affairs of the city.

Significantly, Alexander Logan took an active part in the affairs of the Association throughout 1883, and was elected to the position of third vice-president.



A view of Main Street, looking north, 1881. The buildings from the left are: Hudson's Bay Company store, Customs House, H B C Land Office, and the Winnipeg Hotel.

Upper Fort Garry was demolished, except for the north gateway, at the peak of the land boom in 1882. The retail business that had been carried on in the large building (left) was transferred to the new red brick store at the corner of Main and York.

After the resolution was unanimously passed, a committee was formed and given instructions to draft a plan that would satisfy these aims. Two of their many recommendations were to change the city's 'mode of government' in order to give increased emphasis to an executive committee made up of a mayor, treasurer, and a commissioner of works; and to work to defeat the proposed by-law to raise an additional $500,000 for civic improvements. The key activity of the Property Owners' Association during the latter part of 1883, however, was the nomination of a slate of candidates for civic office in 1884. Heading the list was 'Alex' Logan who, with the backing of the Association and the Board of Trade, easily defeated the incumbent, Alexander McMicken. Logan's majority was 514 votes out of 1,492.

Logan was elected on a platform that called for retrenchment, a far cry from his campaign pledge of December 1881. The mayor's first action in January 1884 was the appointment of 'special auditors' to look into the financial condition of Winnipeg. It was hoped that their report would be a first step towards a solution of Winnipeg's financial problems since it was expected that the auditors would be able to sort out the malaise of inefficient practices and point the way to 'sane financial policies'. But the public's hopes for an early solution to the city's problems were dashed when the report presented to council in June 1884 was not immediately made public. Two months later, in August, the Property Owners' Association and the press finally obtained copies of the report and even then Mayor Logan and his council appeared to be hiding something. Of the 200 printed copies of the report, only 20 were distributed. The conclusion was that council 'did not want the report in the hands of the electors.'

The reluctance of the 1884 council to make the report public stemmed from the fact that the auditors were critical not only of previous councils but of the incumbent one as well. This was made perfectly clear when the auditors stated:

> In conclusion, we would say that there has been no effort on the part of civic officials to place the accounts before us in proper shape for auditing. We have . . . already stated that there is no systematic arrangement in connection with the several departments to provide for inspection and verification, and further that the records fail to show a proper exhibit of the affairs of the corporation.

For the members of the Property Owners' Association the report was alarming, especially since it emphasized that there had been little improvement since the beginning of 1884. According to the Association '. . . the end has now been reached. The present deplorable state of our public affairs renders a new departure in their management so unmistakably necessary that further neglect can only indicate that the mad recklessness of despair has taken hold of the people.' Given this situation something had to be done – and done quickly – to restore confidence in the municipal corporation.

On 1 July 1886 the first transcontinental train arrived at the Winnipeg Station.

Late in October the Winnipeg Board of Trade and the Property Owners' Association issued invitations to a large number of 'representative' citizens to a convention 'for the nomination of fit and proper persons' to constitute the council for 1885. The meeting, which came to be called the 'citizen's convention' was held on 22 October and it was quickly decided that civic affairs could be straightened out only by electing a slate of candidates 'with proven business ability'. As the *Manitoba Free Press* stated: 'We must place in charge of our affairs men who are not only honest but capable – men who having ascertained exactly the position in which the city now stands will proceed unhesitatingly and in the right way to lead us back once more to firm ground.'

Following these expressions of intention, a slate of candidates was nominated by the convention and put forward under the banner of the 'Citizen's Ticket'. Significantly, Logan, who had indicated his willingness to run for another term as mayor, was not nominated. It seems that while his honesty was not in doubt, a majority at the convention were not convinced – especially after his 1884 term – that he had the 'proven business ability' necessary for the mayor's chair. The *Manitoba Free Press* summed up these feelings:

> Mayor Logan is admitted to be a good intending, upright man, but, withal, to his lack of discernment and decision, his unwarranted trust in others, which have been made so apparent during the several years he has occupied the civic chair, is very generally attributed much, if not most, of all that is so unenviable in the present municipal condition of the city. By a test of mayor Logan's own choosing, at a public meeting of his friends, it was made apparent to him that for this reason he would not be re-elected. He had, therefore, nothing to do but retire.

In any case, Logan did not run and in December 1884 his fourth and last term as mayor came to an end. In subsequent years Logan contented himself with the management of his estate and real estate concerns. He died of 'apoplexy' on 23 June 1894.

It has been stated that 'the businessmen of young Winnipeg had more than a little to do with the manifest rise of their city.' This was certainly true of Alexander Logan. Yet it is equally true that Logan was neither an outstanding man nor an exceptional mayor. His chief claim to fame, according to a contemporary account published before his unproductive 1884 term, was his personal popularity.

> Without the possession of brilliant parts; neither orator, nor statesman, nor a great employer of labor, Mr. Logan has succeeded in winning and retaining the esteem of all who know him. He is without doubt one of the most popular men in the city – perhaps the most popular, a fact due to his bonhomie . . . There is not a particle of pride about the man. He is affable alike to rich and poor, generous and unostentatious . . .

Alexander Logan was but one of a long succession of Winnipeg mayors and businessmen who felt that the systematic, organized, and expensive promotion of economic enterprise was the prime concern of the local government. His 'boosterism' bred a strong pride in community accomplishment, and it is this facet of his career that deserves recognition. ◆

The White Dawn

SKETCHES BY JAMES HOUSTON

Dr Houston has been associated with the Canadian Arctic and its people since 1948. He first introduced the Eskimo people to the World as sculptors and graphic artists. Now they are revealed as actors of innate talent in the film 'White Dawn' to be released this year by Paramount Pictures.

Director Philip Kaufman.

FROBISHER BAY was the location for *The White Dawn,* a film from the novel of the same name, based on true events surrounding the fate of three New Bedford whalemen, cast away in 1896 among the Eskimos of the Canadian Eastern Arctic.

Shooting began in late April and continued until early August, 1973. The company centered its production — costumes, makeup, sound, special effects, eating and sometimes sleeping — in the unused U.S. Strategic Air Command barracks and an abandoned storage shed. The vast tundra plain, jagged cliffs, expanses of sea ice and the beautiful snakelike river formed the stage.

A village of snow-houses, including a huge white-domed dance house, was built for use in outdoor shooting. When the igloos fell in the heat of the spring sun, they were built again at night. On clear days the northern spring light permitted around-the-clock photography, and sometimes it seemed that we were using all of it. The 46 persons who made up the film crew were carefully selected for their skill, hardiness, and amiability by Producer Martin Ranshaff.

Almost one hundred Eskimos took part in the film-making as actors, extras, and crew. Apart from the three sailors, played by Timothy Bottoms, Warren Oates, and Lou Gossett, and one Alaskan Eskimo girl, all the parts in the film were played by Canadian Eskimos. Every word spoken by them was in the Eastern Arctic dialect. Their natural ability as actors, their ready talent to portray joy and love, fear and anguish was astonishing.

The dog-teams and their drivers were flown in from Igloolik and Pangnirtung since working dog-teams in Frobisher Bay have recently become as scarce as single-engine aircraft. An unusual and exciting scene was filmed of the Southhampton Island Eskimos on their annual walrus hunt at Coats Island north of Hudson Bay.

During the filming the hours were long and the weather sometimes savage. But the human relations remained excellent, an achievement that was largely due to the patient sensitivity of Director Philip Kaufman who developed a genuine rapport with the Eskimos.

Here are a few pages from my sketch books made during the shooting. As I look at them now, they seem to reflect the cold, and the fatigue, and the mosquitoes. But far more, they remind me of the beauty of the landscape that lies just beyond the sometimes stifling confines of an Arctic community, and of the joyful genius of the Eskimo people.

James Houston

Namonai of Cape Dorset
waits for his cue.

Pilitak of Frobisher Bay
plays Nevee moving to summer camp.

Crewman taking a July break.

The shaman, Charlie Sagiaktok of Lake Harbour cuts a hole in the sea ice to magically contact the sea spirit.

A man said to be a true shaman
walks onto the set and frightens the Eskimos.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

A tranquil moment in the lives of 'A Spurred Rider and his Horse' recorded in pencil and water-colours by Paul Kane near Fort Vancouver, 1847.

HORSES

BY JAMES McCOOK

DURING THE 1885 RIEL REBELLION Surgeon Major C. M. Douglas, V.C., arrived at Swift Current by rail from Eastern Canada and looked for a conveyance to carry him thirty miles to the South Saskatchewan River. He had taken with him a collapsible canoe and planned to paddle 200 miles down the river to the hospital at Saskatoon to which he had been assigned.

He located a buckboard and woebegone horse available for hire. He found the journey towards the river as slow as he had expected. When the canoe began to slip from the buckboard he carelessly flung down the reins and stepped to the ground to adjust the load. In an instant the broken-down horse came to life. It bolted, ran in a wide semi-circle, scattering the canoe and baggage over the prairie, and regained the trail between Douglas and Swift Current. The officer ran after it but it remained easily in the lead. A wagon train came in sight and twenty teamsters, realizing what had happened, spread out in a long line to stop the runaway which simply put on more speed and cantered around them.

The teamsters could do no more than advise Douglas that there was no use running after the horse and he continued to plod on under the hot sun. He was fortunate that success made the horse unwary, for after another mile or two it was caught by another group of teamsters. Tied to a wagon, it greeted Douglas with a hollow cough as if hinting that it had a weak chest. Douglas kept a firm hand on the reins as he headed north again, collected his possessions from the prairie, and finally reached the river. There an acquaintance recognized the horse and commented that he had once seen it kicking a buckboard to pieces.

The surgeon major, who had served with the British army in India, had not yet learned that men and horses in the pioneer West lived in a state of mutual distrust despite a thousand books that depicted them as unfailing comrades.

Mr McCook, retired associate editor of the Ottawa Journal, has had a long-time interest in the history of western Canada.

Years of association with a horse was no protection against surprise. A prairie family with a favourite old nag that never became excited or bucked or bit or ran away, was left gasping when someone opened an umbrella near him. 'Old reliable' bolted, buggy and all, to the hazard of those who had trusted him.

Some horses were so fond of water that when taken near a lake or river they suddenly plunged in, taking load or rider with them. Other horses hated water and had to be roped, tied, and floated across rivers on rafts built with infinite labour.

The explorers had to depend on horses, and Dr James Hector, nursing a badly bruised face, left a memorial to his equine companion in the names Kicking Horse River and Kicking Horse Pass. The beast had almost killed him when he relaxed his guard for a moment.

Horses saved lives when they brought their riders home through storms, where every landmark was lost. But no one can prove they were inspired by love of humanity. Their inspiration was probably the thought of a warm stall, fragant hay, and horsy company.

They hastened prairie development with their speed and muscle and gave a spice of excitement to life. No one knew what a horse would do next. Inspector Cecil Denny heard the story of a Montana guide who was attacked by a grizzly bear after shooting two of its cubs. He was being badly mauled when his horse, which might be expected to flee at the first whiff of bear, struck the grizzly with its front feet, then whirled and lashed it with its back feet. While the animals fought the man took refuge in the bush. Soon the bear left, nursing its bruises. Despite a lacerated back, the horse allowed the man to get into the saddle and carried him home.

The joy of sentimentalists has been the doctor and his faithful horse racing the stork towards the log cabin where the mother-to-be waits. Doctors who held the reins on such occasions said they never had a chance against the stork once fences came. Dr G. D. Stanley, a Southern Alberta pioneer, said that when he was driving his spirited pair of blacks he would open and close as many as 38 gates responding to, and returning from, one call. At each stop the doctor tied his horses to the fence, opened the gate, led the horses through, turned them, and tied them to the fence again while he closed the gate. If horses could have been trusted as they are in the movies, he could have galloped up to the gate, thrown the reins on the ground, opened the gate and whistled them through. This would have taken half as long as the tying process – but a lot of tying was better than walking home.

At that, Stanley never suffered the supreme insult endured by Frank Oliver, the Edmonton publisher, in an incident reported by the Banff *Crag and Canyon*. He was hauling new printing machinery across the plains and had in his team a mare with a young foal. The little animal suffered misery from mosquitoes and flies and at one noon-day stop the kind Oliver tried to make life easier for it by sewing around it a quantity of white cotton. The mare, which had been grazing some distance away, was terrified by the white apparition that came bounding towards her. She bolted – and so did every other horse. Oliver, who had the gift of tongues when angered, tramped wearily after his horses. The *Crag and Canyon* said knowingly that he prayed for chain lightning and a gatling gun.

Not all missionaries were skilled horsemen and they suffered for it. Father Albert Lacombe once decided to take a gamble and had transported to his mission at St Albert northwest of Edmonton, parts for a grist mill, even though he did not know how to put them together. His faith was justified to the extent that an American handyman drifted in and assembled the mill for him. The grateful missionary thought his troubles were over, but when he introduced his horses to the mill shaft they were to pull, they panicked. They wouldn't pull that, no sir! The disappointed priest eventually had to harness an ox which could have been used for heavier work; moreover, the ox required a man with a goad to ensure that it did not slow to a halt.

Horses did not restrict their bias to Roman Catholics. At the Whitefish Methodist mission, also in what is modern Alberta, Reverend Henry Bird Steinhauer tried in vain to train local horses to pull a plough. The totality of his failure was known when twelve stalwart Indians harnessed themselves to the plough and broke ground on which the missionary planted barley.

The police, also very worthy citizens, were often embarrassed by their horses. On the eve of the famous march west in 1874, more than 200 horses stampeded during a night storm at Dufferin, Manitoba. Most of them dashed across the border into the United States and, running as far as fifty miles, were taken as proof by laughing Americans that the West would tame the 'Redcoats' rather than the 'Redcoats' tame the West. The police could only take pride in the fact that all but two animals were soon rounded up.

In 1897 Cree Indians on The Pas reserve pulled the plough through ground that was too stony to be worked by their horses.

R.C.M.P. PHOTO

A patrol of the North West Mounted Police riding out of Battleford, c. 1876. A police wagon brings up the rear.

When the march began Henri Julien, the newspaper artist who accompanied the police, noted that at one early stopping place the horses declined to eat prairie hay that was a year old.

'Government horses, like government men, being used to feeding well, are apt to become too dainty' he wrote. Before the end of the march Julien, as much as anyone, pitied the worn-out survivors of a journey that was cruelly hard on the horses. There were individual embarrassments later, as when Inspector Francis J. Dickens, son of the novelist, was thrown during an exhibition before the public at Fort Macleod.

Horses seemed to enjoy fouling up great occasions.

In 1881 the Marquis of Lorne, Governor General and Queen Victoria's son-in-law, was escorted by the North West Mounted Police during his visit to the West. The police were determined to do well as a matter of pride and in an effort to have Ottawa loosen the purse-strings; in 1880 a constable's pay had been cut from 75 to 50 cents a day. A glossy escort of an officer and twenty men welcomed the Governor General at Fort Ellice on the Assiniboine River when he stepped from a steamboat. The salute was sounded by the police trumpeter. The officer's sword gleamed. The inspection was thorough and complimentary and officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were on hand to welcome His Excellency to the hospitality of the fort. At this point one of the four-horse wagon teams bolted, scattering baggage and everything else along the bank and breaking the driver's arm.

Once away on the journey across the plains, the police responded to reveille at 3:30 a.m. to collect, groom, and harness the horses for a start at 6 a.m. At Gabriel's Crossing on the South Saskatchewan River, where the ferry was owned by Gabriel Dumont who was to be Riel's battle leader in the rebellion four years later, the police escort had to swim eighty horses across. The police were reported to be cheerful although mud, flies, and stubborn horses must have made their fifty cents a day seem hard earned.

From Fort Macleod, where the police had established their post almost in the shadow of the mountains, the Governor General headed into the United States to travel east by rail. He was welcomed at Fort Shaw, Montana, by a band of the U.S. 3rd Infantry playing 'God Save the Queen', whereupon the horses in the N.W.M.P. wagon bolted and whirled Her Majesty's representative around the fort square at startling speed. The police driver saved face by contriving to stop the team in front of the commanding officer's house.

The Marquis of Lorne was full of compliments for the police but twenty-one years later they were still complaining about pay when another distinguished visitor who might have been able to help them visited the West. In 1902 the Conservative leader, Robert L. Borden, was regarded as a man likely to lead a government, as he did in 1911.

At Calgary he arranged to visit the Sarcee Indian Reserve and two police wagons were provided for his party. At the first river crossing the bridge was under repair and a ford had to be used. The police drivers were willing to have the passengers remain aboard but male members of the party insisted it would be safer to walk over the bridge. From that height they watched one wagon founder in midstream with harness broken; the other, after a fearful struggle, finally reached firm ground on the other side. The passengers rejoined the wagons but pleasure in the outing was further dimmed

when the vehicle carrying Mrs Borden became stuck in a bog from which it was hauled with difficulty. On the way back to Calgary Mr Borden rode with five other passengers in the lead carriage. The second carriage was driven by a dashing policeman who, in the approved manner of skilled stagecoach-drivers, kept one foot high on the dashboard. Going around a corner, his foot slipped and he fell off. As could be expected, the horses bolted, dragging the driver who shouted to the passengers to grab the reins. One man tried and fell off too. The frightened horses rammed the tongue of their wagon into the vehicle ahead, spilling the passengers onto the ground. The Leader of the Opposition suffered a cut leg and a severe shaking up. The members of Parliament and their ladies did not return to Ottawa filled with any urgent desire to praise the police transportation.

Settlers from Britain and Europe accustomed to well-ordered farms tended to spoil their horses, but in northern areas and often on the prairie as well, horses were expected to rustle for themselves under bad conditions. Jim Tod, a future chief trader with the H B C was posted to Fort Severn on Hudson Bay soon after his arrival in Canada in 1811. He found there a horse which had arrived from Britain too late in the year to be sent on to Fort Garry by river boat. The horse and a boar destined to be eaten had become inseparable companions and foraged together for willow branches or anything else they could find in the snow. When the fort bell rang for meals, the animals dashed to the kitchen door to wait for scraps – bits of fish, goose bones or porridge – which they would eat voraciously. The horse survived for seven months under these rough conditions and remained strong enough in the spring to travel from Severn to York. Tod recorded that he 'rode the identical horse thither and everyone was astonished to see him live through the terribly severe seasons in that latitude.'

A drawing of three members of the North West Mounted Police and their spirited horses, published in 'Picturesque Canada', 1882.

WESTERN DEVELOPMENT MUSEUM, SASKATOON

An elegant surrey 'with the fringe on top'.

There was considerable boasting about horses. Inspector Denny of the North West Mounted Police rode from Calgary between dawn and dusk in September 1877, and reckoned he covered 106 miles. Another N.W.M.P. rider dashed in with mail for the Marquis of Lorne during his visit to Calgary, having covered 104 miles in twelve hours. Dr L. G. De Veber rode 167 miles from Macleod to Morley, answering a call for help; he used four horses and spent eighteen hours in the saddle.

The adventurous Earl of Southesk – he came to Canada in 1859 nursing an injury from a ballooning accident – wrote disparaging remarks about prairie horses in his book *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*. Riders 'who had not known the misery of riding a half-wild, half-broke, obstinate, under-bred, grass-fed beast can scarcely imagine the difference between such a creature and the well-bred, well-fed, well-broke horse one rides at home.' Still, on his long expedition across the plains and into the mountains, Southesk became much attached to an elderly, amiable horse called Bichon. After reciting the various good qualities of Bichon, the author added:

'Of all my horses he is the only one that eats flowers . . . Why is it absurd that a horse should eat flowers?'

Bucephalus (left) and a horse 'most aptly named Gisquakarn or "The Fool" of the Milton and Cheadle expedition are swept into the swollen Fraser River, July 1863.

Such musings did not comfort Southesk when another mount, a fast runner named Morgan, left him afoot on the prairie when he relaxed his vigilance, let loose the reins, and saw it gallop off to join its friends.

Lord Milton and Dr W. B. Cheadle in *The North-West Passage by Land* relate their esteem for an ugly brute called Bucephalus – although it had none of the beauty of Alexander the Great's steed – which managed very well despite a malformed leg. In the mountains in 1863 it fell over a precipice and was caught in a tree where it waited calmly to be rescued. Another horse would have died struggling to free itself from such a perch.

When the British hunters faced starvation in the mountains, a horse had to be eaten and one called Blackie was chosen. Sentimental as they were, Milton and Cheadle felt badly and persuaded the guide to fire the fatal shot.

'In a few minutes steaks were roasting on the fire' and 'all day long we feasted to repletion' the hunters wrote.

Horsemen such as Frank 'Polly' Pollinger who drove the coach from Calgary to Macleod and from Macleod to Lethbridge sneered at the railways which would put them out of business, calling them 'turkey tracks'. Their final and clinching argument was that you could not eat a locomotive in a pinch.

The progress of the white man's expeditions across the open country was watched with judicial interest by the Indians, experts in the art of horse-stealing. It took time for the fur traders to understand that finesse delighted the warriors. It was admirable to kill an enemy and take his horses but it was even better to take his horses and leave him alive and shamed. A warrior who dozed in the teepee with a hide lariat attached to his wrist and to the bridle of his best horse standing outside, could wake up to find the lariat cut and the horse gone. Not even the alert dogs in the camp would be aroused.

Indians drove the traders into helpless fury by stealing horses at one post and selling them at another. Relations were strained when liquor was cut off as a punishment – or because there were no supplies. Another reason for stealing developed when the H B C began to improve the quality of its horses by importing stallions, one of the most famous being 'Fireaway'. In a diary entry dated Winter 1833-4, Chief Factor Robert Campbell wrote that Fireaway 'was a splendid bright bay, standing 16 hands & very stoutly built, with a faultless shape. He was warranted to trot 15 miles an hour . . . His equal for improving native stock has never been imported into the country.'

The Indian people, with their eye for a good horse, required little instruction in horse-racing. About a century ago, the little H B C post of Touchwood Hills in central Saskatchewan was something of a racing centre with entries in competitions coming from as far away as Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton. Indians brought horses by the dozen to the race meets and their shaggy entries made the favourites seem sluggish. The braves found the sport exciting and would bet everything they possessed,

while white men felt daring when they wagered a week's wages.

John Rowand, in charge at Edmonton for many years, had a two-mile racetrack beside the fort where handsome animals were trained. H B C regulations after 1835 stated that an officer should have only one horse for his own use and make a financial accounting to the Company for it. But it was an unimaginative trader who would not have good mounts at his command while observing Company rules.

In due course horse thieves added in their own way to police responsibilities. Inspector William 'Hardface Bill' Parker, a veteran of the march of 1874, told this writer about 'Slim Jim', a thief who was caught, convicted, and sentenced to six years in Stony Mountain Penitentiary, Manitoba, nearly 700 miles from the scene of the crime. Parker commanded the escort taking the prisoner east, Slim Jim helped with the driving, a night guard was faithfully maintained, and all went uneventfully until they met a party of westbound settlers. One settler, noting the chain on Slim Jim's leg, chose to abuse him, saying the police had 'sure fixed him'. Jim responded with a flood of words that left the settler with his mouth open. As the police party moved on Slim Jim asked Parker if he had noticed the team driven by the 'mouthy' settler; it was one of the best he had seen and he intended to steal it. Parker reminded him he had six years in prison before him; Jim laughed and said 'They'll never keep me in that long.'

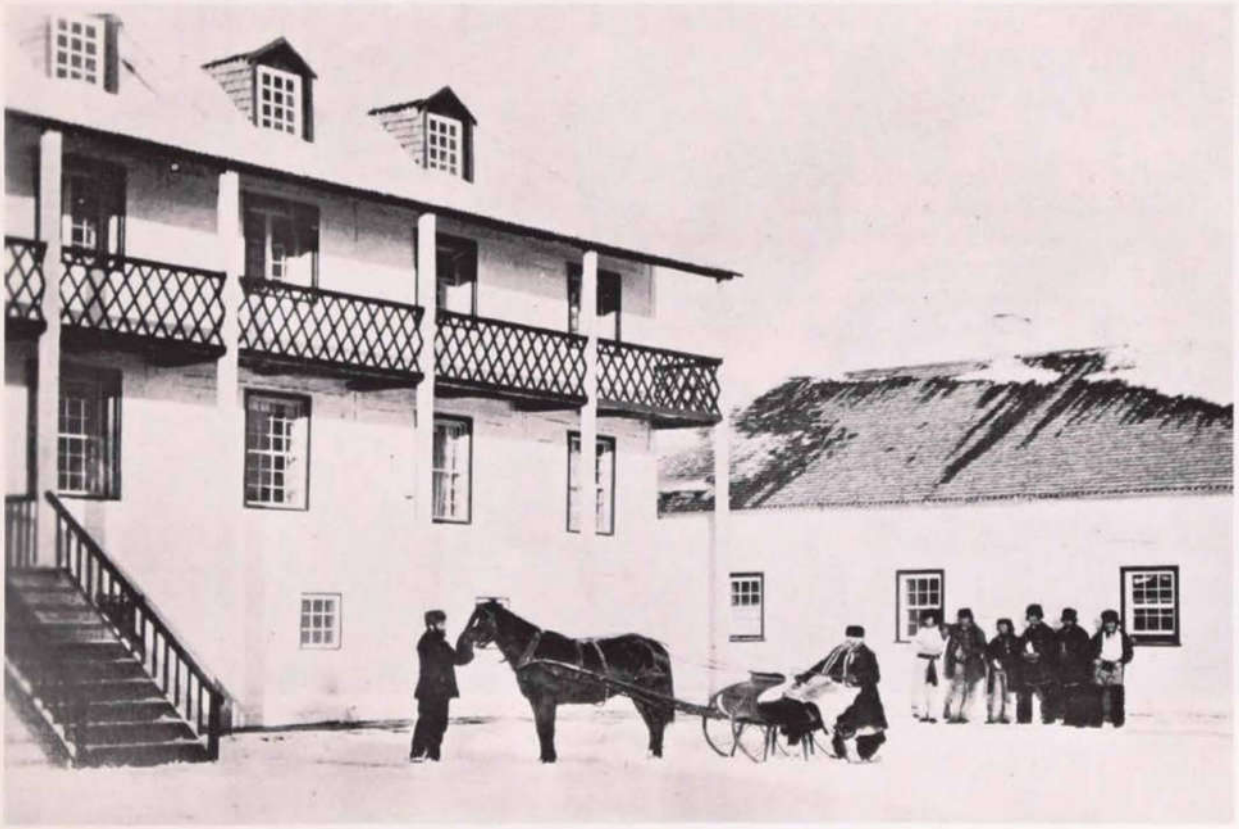
As he had predicted Jim escaped within six months. Parker believed that he was on his way back to steal the team when he paused in Montana for a break, was caught by vigilantes, and hanged.

A less dramatic horse thief was successfully defended by Paddy Nolan, a witty Calgary lawyer. Bob Edwards's Calgary newspaper *The Eye Opener* reported that after the trial Nolan asked his client whether he really did steal the horse.

'I always did think I stole that horse, but since I heard your speech to the jury I'll be doggoned if I ain't got my doubts about it' said the newly freed man.

Thieves and honest men both were often let down by their horses but who hears, or cares, about the disappointments of this sentimental association? In retrospect, the horses of the West could do no wrong. They were the faithful allies of cowboys, farmers, and traders. They carried the children to school, brought in the harvest, and waited for the band to play 'Goodnight Ladies' before taking everyone safely home from a dance. ◆

An impressive horse and cutter inside Fort Edmonton, 1871.



Iyas and His Mother

ONE of our ancient Cree legends tells of Iyas who was separated from his mother when he was very young. He travelled throughout the world searching for her, encountering on the way a dragon (who embodied the spirit of his grandfather) a man-monster and a number of old murderous women. Near the end of the legend when he finally arrived home, he found his mother outside the tent weeping. His step-father had been mistreating her; she was forced to do the hard work and at night she slept with the dogs.

Iyas became angry. He called the birds and animals together in the forest and told them to seek shelter on an island in the lake. Then he cleared a large circle and when he had brought his mother to it, he shot flaming arrows out in four directions. Soon the world was aflame and all life perished except Iyas and his mother and some of the animals and birds.

Years later when the fire had burned itself out and the earth was turning green again, Iyas realized that he and his mother were no longer needed in the world. He placed his hands on her shoulders, turned her into a robin and told her to fly about the world singing and praying for the Indian people. Then he changed himself to a toad.

This is why the robin is a sacred bird to the Indian people. It is never killed, for the spirit of Iyas's mother lives on in its body.

Carl Ray

Artist and author Carl Ray of the Sandy Lake Reserve in Ontario heard the legends of the Cree from his grandfather. These he records in vivid and mystical paintings.

CARL RAY

Lake Hazen on north Ellesmere Island, midnight, 17 April 1973.

The High Arctic

Yesterday and Today

By A. Stevenson, Chairman
NWT Historical Advisory Board.

Photographs by Lewis Mazzatenta and Eric Jensen are published with permission of Panarctic Oils Limited.

The remains of Kellett's house and cache, Dealy Island.

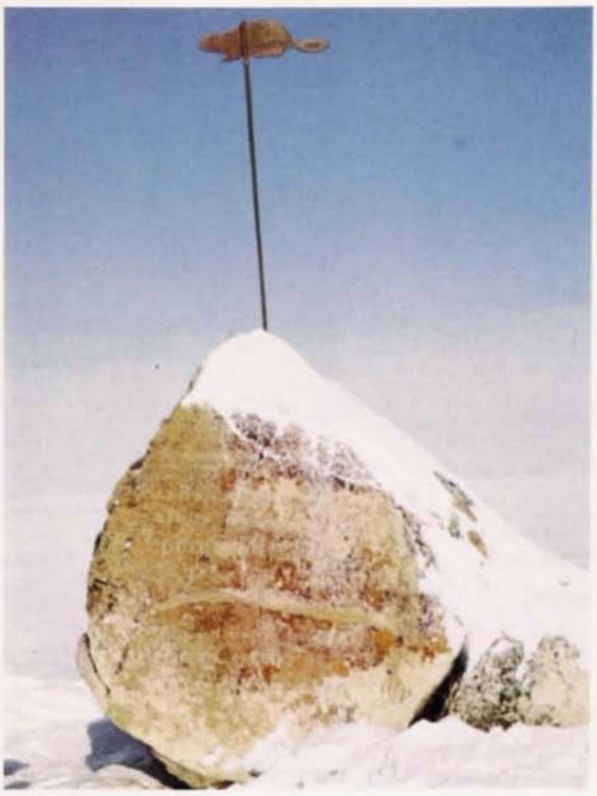
IN THE FROZEN DESERT of the High Arctic, men in their present-day search for oil and natural gas, follow in the wake of other earlier explorers who, for over two centuries sought a Northwest Passage to the riches of Cathay. Some ships disappeared; search expeditions followed. An even older story of man's struggle to survive in the polar regions is told by the ancient sites of Inuit migrations.

In the spring of 1973, a visit to several of the remote and historic places in the High Arctic was organized by Charles R. Hetherington, President of Panarctic Oils Limited, a company that is owned jointly by the Canadian government and private enterprise. I was included in the party of ten that took off in Panarctic's Twin Otter from Rea Point on Melville Island on 15 April. The weather was clear, cold, and bright. At that season of the year in latitudes between 70° and 83° we could anticipate twenty-four hours of daylight; from early May to mid-August, the sun never sets below the horizon.

Sixty-seven miles down the coast of Melville Island we landed on the sea ice at Dealy Island. On the shore before us was the stone building that had been erected in the spring of 1853, by Captain Henry Kellett of the Franklin Search. The roof had collapsed many years ago, but parts of the wall still sheltered the remains of the massive cache.

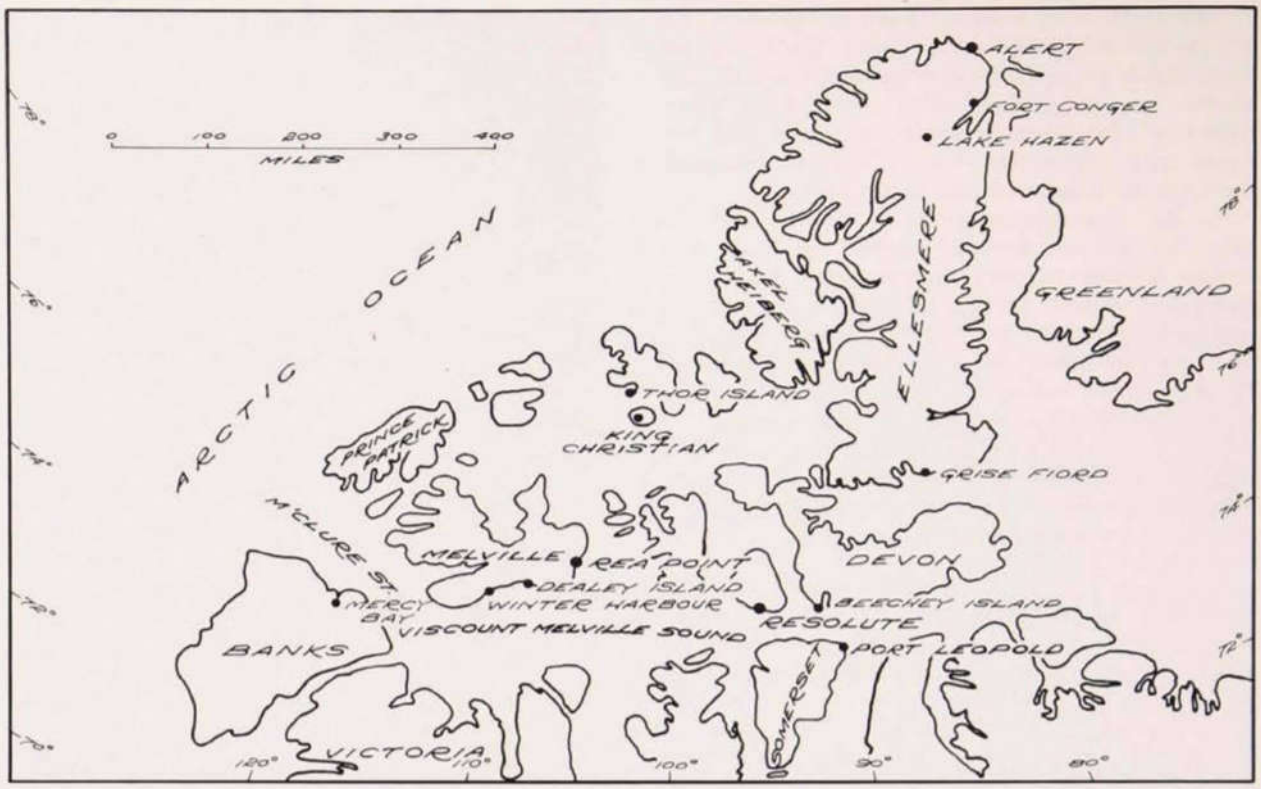
In the late summer of 1852, Kellett, with his ships *Resolute* and *Intrepid*, reached the island after a vain attempt to push through heavy ice to the shelter of Winter Harbour. By mid-September his ships were frozen in and the men were preparing to carry on the search for the missing Franklin expedition on foot. Heading west, a sledge party led by Lieutenant Frederick Mecham discovered a message at Parry's Rock, Winter Harbour from Captain Robert McClure who had approached the search area from the west. His ship *Investigator*, he reported, was trapped in the ice some 160 miles away at Mercy Bay off Banks Island.

In March 1853, with temperatures around −50°F. Lieutenant Bedford Pim of the *Resolute* journeyed southwest and found McClure and his men, weakened by scurvy and on the point of abandoning their vessel. The timely arrival of Lieutenant Pim, his face burned 'black as ebony' from his travels, saved the lives of the survivors, and enabled McClure to claim the Admiralty prize of £10,000 as leader of the first



'Mail box' for the High Arctic – Parry's Rock at Winter Harbour.

The 'Helca' and 'Griper' of Sir Edward Parry's expedition, at Winter Harbour 1819-1820.



British Expedition to achieve (although in an unexpected way) the Northwest Passage – travelling first by ship, then on foot over the sea ice, and finally by ship again to England.

The stone building on Dealy Island was built in the spring of 1853, and served as headquarters for a second year of search and exploration. When Kellett abandoned the site, he left a massive cache of food for those who would follow him. Some of the supplies, including tins of meat, still unopened, remained within the dry stone walls. But the roof had long since collapsed and empty tins and broken barrels were scattered about – undoubtedly the work of marauding bears. At one end of the cache, iron tanks that once held supplies were rusted and partly hidden by drifting snow. About a quarter of a mile east of the cache were three wooden grave markers that had been blown over by high winds. The inscriptions have faded, and only one remained legible – that on the grave of Thomas Mobley, a Royal Marine.

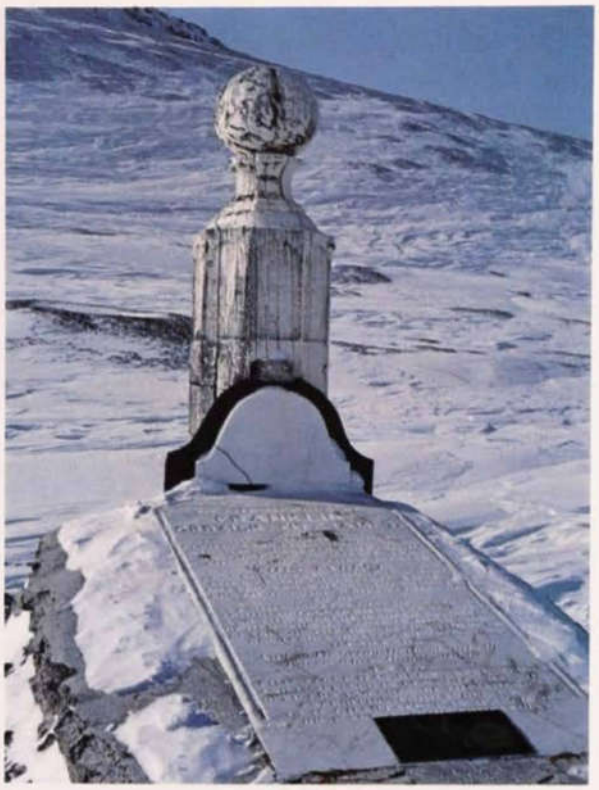
Another forty miles to the southwest is Winter Harbour. The location is marked by Parry's Rock, a conspicuous block of sandstone approximately 18 feet long and 10 feet high. It was first noted by Sir Edward Parry in his search for the Northwest Passage, 1819-1820, and has since borne his name. Over the years, Parry's Rock has served as an unofficial mailbox for the High Arctic. Documents and records have been deposited in its recesses, and messages have been written on its surface. Inscriptions on the rock were left by Parry (1820), Kellett (1854) and Joseph Bernier in 1909, who on 1 July took 'possession for the "Dominion of Canada", of the whole of the "Arctic Archipelago", Lying to the north of America from long 60°W. to 141°W. up to latitude 90°N.'

In 1917, Vilhjalmur Stefansson visited the rock: then 27 years later, Captain Henry Larsen in the RCMP vessel *St Roch* deposited a record of his call. Two miles east of the rock the wooden hut built by Bernier still stands. Behind the hut is a small boat which may have been left behind by Larsen in 1944. Larsen, it is believed, found Bernier's abandoned boat superior to the heavy one that he carried on the *St Roch* and made the exchange.

From Winter Harbour, we flew south across McClure Strait and made an air search of Mercy Bay for the McClure cairn or possible remains of the *Investigator*. We saw numerous caribou and musk-oxen in the area, and landed to look at a large cave high up in the face of a cliff, but found the steep talus slope inaccessible. Airborne again, we scanned the area for the crater of an extinct volcano that had been reported to exist one mile inland from Back Point by Third Officer C. W. Green of Bernier's expedition of 1908-09.

On the following day, April 16, we flew east, re-

fuelled at Resolute Bay, then headed southeast for Port Leopold on the northern shore of Somerset Island. Temperatures had been well below freezing – from −16° to −30°F – but there was open water in Prince Regent Inlet and patches of fog reduced visibility. At Port Leopold we glimpsed the abandoned H B C post which was officially open for one season, 1926-27, and which later served as an outpost from Fort Ross in the early 1940s. Since poor visibility made landing hazardous, we turned north across Lancaster Sound and landed in the sheltered harbour at Beechey Island. Here the final Franklin expedition had passed its first winter in the Arctic. The historic spot was marked by a wooden cenotaph, dedicated to the memory of the men who perished in the last Admiralty search under Sir Edward Belcher 1852-54. A marble tablet, commissioned by Lady Franklin and bearing the names of Franklin and his officers, was deposited at the cenotaph by Captain McClintock in 1858 and in 1906, Captain Bernier had the tablet placed in a bed of cement. The cenotaph also bears a small tablet dedicated to the memory of Lieutenant J. R. Bellot of the French navy who lost his life on 18 August 1853 while serving with a Franklin search expedition. Nearby are the remains of the cache known as Northumberland House, established in 1854 by Commander W. S. Pullen of HMS *North Star*, and on the barren plain a few hundred yards away are four graves



Beechey Island, with the remains of the Northumberland House cache in the foreground and Franklin's cenotaph in the distance, and in the photograph above.

Interior and exterior views of Fort Conger as it is today. Headboards from the graves of C. W. Paul and J. J. Hand of the Nares expedition are nailed to the back of one hut.

marked by weathered headboards. Three of Franklin's men are known to have died on Beechey Island. Their names on the grave markers are now nearly obliterated but have been carefully recorded by A. P. Low of CGS *Neptune*, who found the inscriptions still legible in 1904. The fourth headboard appears blank. It is believed that it marks the grave of a member of one of the later search parties.

From Beechey Island we returned to Resolute Bay for refuelling, then flew northwest to Grise Fiord, and north to Lake Hazen on Ellesmere Island. Here on the shore of the vast frozen lake at 81° 50' N. were two Nisson huts that had been joined together and used as a tourist camp.

Ninety years earlier, Lieutenant Adolphus Greely of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition of 1881-84 came upon the lake after travelling along the bed of the Ruggles River. He wrote: 'A couple of hundred yards farther and a sharp turn brought in sight a scene which we shall all remember to our dying day. Before us was an immense ice-bound lake. Its snowy covering reflected 'diamond dust', from the midnight sun, and at our feet was a pool of open blue water which fed the river . . . The scene was one of great beauty and impressiveness.'

In April the Lake Hazen camp was unoccupied and the temperature – inside and out of the huts – was –32°F. We lit a heater and one of the Coleman gas stoves

Fort Conger as it was during the two winters of occupation (1881-1883) by the Lady Franklin Bay expedition under Lieutenant Adolphus Greely.

Ice fishing by the light of the midnight sun, Lake Hazen.

and carried our supplies, including the battery from the plane, some 300 yards up the slope to the building.

About noon on April 17, we left for Fort Conger, Greely's base camp on Lady Franklin Bay. After two low runs over the site, we landed in deep snow on the sea ice some two and a half miles away from the remains of the Greely buildings where Lieutenant Greely and his party of 25 men had lived for two years. Their expedition was a contribution by the United States to studies of the Arctic during the International Polar Year. During that time, they explored an area that Greely later estimated to be 6,000 square miles. In 1882, the ship bringing in their supplies was caught in the ice and sank, and the following summer, on 10 August 1883, the party abandoned the camp, taking two small boats and as much food and equipment as they could carry. By mid-October when they had reached Cape Sabine, they had rations for forty days.

In January 1884, the first man died, and other deaths followed in April, May, and June. Most of the men died of starvation; one was executed for stealing food. When the rescue party under Captain W. S. Schley of the *Thetis* reached them on 22 June 1884 there were only seven survivors, all near death.

Of the original 'Fort' two small huts still stand. Nailed on the back of one were two headboards from

Shovelling out the Twin Otter are Vice President R. G. S. Currie and Rea Point Foreman Don Connelly with President Charles Hetherington at right. Panarctic pilots were Captains M. J. Mariacci and William Silvester.

the graves of members of the British Admiralty expedition of 1875-76, under Captain G. S. Nares whose vessel, *Discovery*, wintered at Lady Franklin Bay. The polar expedition of 1898-1902 under Robert Peary wintered for two years in the same area.

From Fort Conger we followed the coast of Robeson Channel, scanning the hills of Lincoln Bay for caches of

A flare test at King Christian Island. The daily flow of natural gas from this Panarctic well is estimated at about 200 million cubic feet.

provisions left by both Nares and Peary. Near Cape Sheridan, we spotted a number of cairns erected by Nares, whose ship *Alert* had attained the highest latitude on record to that time. One of Peary's cairns, marked by a large cross, was also visible from the plane. At Alert, approximately 500 miles from the geographic North Pole we made a brief stop. This is the most northerly, permanently inhabited settlement in the world. First established in 1950 as a joint Canada-United States weather station, it was later developed as a research station on arctic communications. Few vessels have pushed their way through the narrow ice-filled waters between Ellesmere Island and Greenland and the station depends mainly on air transport for supplies. In 1950, nine men were killed there when an R C A F Lancaster crashed while making an air drop of supplies. A cenotaph to their memory and their graves are near the end of the airstrip overlooking the wide expanse of the Arctic Ocean.

From Alert, we returned for the night to the camp at Lake Hazen, cut through six to eight inches of ice and fished for Arctic char by the light of the midnight sun. In the morning two large Arctic wolves, curious about the human presence in their remote preserve, came up to the huts, surveyed the scene for several minutes and then padded away.

On the final day, April 18, as we headed back by way of the gas-producing wells on King Christian and Thor Islands, our thoughts were of men of other eras whose exploits could claim the tribute written by Samuel Purchas in 1625:

'Resolute, gallant, glorious attempts! How shall I admire your heroicke courage, ye marine worthies . . . that neyther dread so long eyther presence or absence of the sunne; nor those foggy mysts, tempestuous winds, cold blasts, snowes and hayle in the ayre; nor the unequall seas . . .' ◆

Cenotaph and graves at the Alert airstrip.

The Greely Expedition: The Last Days

Cape Sabine June 1st, 1884

Dear Capt. Johnson

This is the last you will ever hear from me. I am laying helpless in a starving condition at this point without any hopes of recovery. 12 of our number has died of starvation since Jan. 17. Lieut. Kislingbury died at 3 P.M. today and I feel it my turn next, the other 13 of us are helpless.

It is the blunders of the heads of this expedition . . . who are to blame for our misfortunes and it ought to be a warning to the United States to keep fools and incompetent people at home.

If there is to be fools it is better they should meddle in little things than in great. I hold Lieut. Greely personally responsible for the lives of this party. All this has been pointed out to him by Dr. Pavy but it was of no avail, he rushed into where he was not able to lead and it is well that he should not be made a martyr of and if ever he returns to the U.S. he ought to be tried and hung for murder. For my part I have nothing [to] regret in this matter, I die like a brave soldier. I only ask of my Dear Captain to help and see that all that is due from the U.S. government would be duly turned over to my parents if alive or if not to my Brothers and Sister. My Brothers address is Michal Connell portmagee [Port Magee] Co. Kerry Ireland.

I also request the Chief Signal Officer to turn my journal over to you when he is through with it. So farewell Dear Captain. My love to Freddy and Harry. I hope they can manage Bug now.

My kindest regards to Mrs. Johnson. Believe me I never forgot her or you. Dont [let] our fate frighten Arctic Explorers. It is as safe as any other enterprise providing the right men are at the head of it. Three ships passed this point loaded with provisions and only left 20 days rations, a shame to the United States. I recommend to you Dr. Octave Pavy who will explain all to you if he lives to get out of this.

Yours truly

M. Connell

I am just able to crawl but the wind is blowing so hard today and I am chilled through. The Doctor ordered for me 5 drops of spirit . . . Greely forbids it, says . . . that . . . I am so badly hurt that he cannot afford . . . medicines. This is hard . . . for a dieing man . . .

June 4th, 1885

I can still write this date. The wind blew very hard all through the night and went right through me and weakened me very much. We had about 2 ozs. of . . . shrimps and a pint of weak tea. Tincture of iron was issued this morning but I refuse to take any more medicines. He thinks the Doctor is going to die soon so that he will [have] all for himself . . . this Brute will surely get . . . his reward. Saler passed away.

June 5th, 1884. Dear Capt.

I am still alive. We are now 24 days without anything to eat except Rock lichens and a few ounces of shrimps. Oh, little Freddy and Harry. If I could only see them once more.

June 6th, 1884. Dear Captain.

Three of our number has passed away today including the Doctor. Pvt. Henry 5th Cav. was shot by order of Lieut. Greely. He had been the strongest of the party and was continually stealing our scanty rations so that it was necessary to use this extreme measure in order that the rest of us would have a chance of living. The only thing we have to live on now is our seal skin Boots. There are nine of us left out of 25.

The writer of this letter was Private Maurice Connell of the Lady Franklin Bay expedition under Lieutenant Adolphus Greely. By June 1884 all survivors were near death but Connell was weakest of them all. He probably had scurvy; his face and limbs were swollen and his legs were useless below the knees. His comrades expected death at any time.

The story of the expedition is a tale of endurance, heroism, and death. Although Greely became a respected figure in the history of arctic exploration, Connell and others of the expedition did not agree with the generally favourable opinions expressed of their commander.

Irish-born Connell came to the expedition with strong recommendations from his commanding officer and accepted a reduction in rank from sergeant to private in order to participate in the expedition. He proved a capable man and was subsequently promoted to sergeant. Gradually, however, Connell with others, especially the doctor, Octave Pavy became critical of their commanding officer. Discontent became increasingly evident during the retreat from Fort Conger in August and September 1883. On 3 September Greely reprimanded Connell and Lieutenant Frederick F. Kislingbury for an ill-advised discussion about their situation and forbade a recurrence of such demoralizing action. A little over a month later Greely again criticized Connell for fault finding, reduced him to the rank of private and threatened to prefer charges against him for mutiny.

Connell's bitterness is reflected in the fragment of his letter. Although scholars may discount Connell's opinions, they are important for assessment of Greely's leadership. The letter as well, provides a dramatic picture of the days when Connell and the others were near death.

Maurice Connell survived and eventually moved to California where he lived until his death in 1921. His original letter was copied by William Carey Brown, an army officer who collected historical materials throughout most of his life. The copy – all that could be deciphered of the original which was written with a soft lead pencil and badly smudged – is now in the William Carey Brown papers in the Western Historical Collections at the University of Colorado Library and is published with the permission of the curator, John Brennan.

Richard N. Ellis, Associate Professor,
Department of History, University of New Mexico.

The Carberry Sand Hills

TEXT BY ROBERT W. NERO
PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROBERT R. TAYLOR

About a hundred miles west of Winnipeg the Trans-Canada Highway cuts across the Sand Hills.

ALONG THE LENGTH of the Trans-Canada Highway, few areas offer the scenic and historical interest, and biological diversity of Manitoba's Carberry Sand Hills. Preserved in part through the early establishment of the Spruce Woods Provincial Forest, the Sand Hills are midway between Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan border. Rugged hills with aspen woods and scattered, dark, spruce trees in this area contrast with adjacent fields of wheat. A scarcity of buildings and roads indicates that this is agriculturally unproductive land.

For several miles along the highway, roadside cuts expose deep deposits of salmon-coloured sand. The surrounding hills, where not forested, are lightly carpeted with grasses and mats of low evergreen plants – bearberry and creeping juniper – even on the steeper

Golden asters rooted on a sheltered slope of sand.

slopes. Mature spruce trees rise above the hills in solitary peaks; their distinctive jagged silhouettes are a significant part of the scene.

The provincial lands lie south of the highway. Additional thousands of acres of spruce-clad hills on the north side have been preserved on private land. Long before park planners, foresters, or ecologists became interested in these hills they were a haven to rural and urban people. The Criddles of Aweme, a distinguished Manitoba farm family, made regular pilgrimages to the Sand Hills, and many others knew the area well.

In the 1880s, the world-renowned naturalist, Ernest Thompson Seton, roamed the hills and from this experience drew the inspiration for his widely read book *The Trail of the Sandhill Stag*. The Mule Deer he depicted in this book have since been replaced by the White-tailed Deer, but many other features remain the same: the Assiniboine River follows its course along the south edge of the hills, old oxbow lakes left by this river long ago gleam between groves of trees, wild flowers appear in season, and bird songs ring in the woods in spring.

Now snowmobile fans gather to file over the winter trails that loop about the hills, taking advantage of steep slopes and vistas of snow-clad valleys. Coyote and deer trails fan out in all directions from the snowmobile tracks, but here and there one can see where a coyote has briefly loped along the hard-packed track, then stopped to leave its yellow urine mark on the icy snow before moving off to break its own path in search of rabbit or grouse.

Cross-country skiers and snowshoe enthusiasts seek clean snow and wildlife in these hills. The dry tops of plants — delicate seed-heads of prairie clover, little bluestem and grama grasses — above the snow provide subtle glimpses of prairie vegetation. On a sub-zero morning, they sparkle with hoar frost; a quiet glide on skis down an untracked slope is a refreshing encounter with old familiar species. The mind ticks them off again and again, and where names of species are unrecalled the lively patterns of frosted leaves and flower heads are reason enough to explore.

In winter one can follow on the heels of wildlife, for signs of deer, grouse, coyotes, foxes, rabbits, and mice reveal evidence of pursuits and forays. Tracks made by half-a-dozen Sharp-tailed Grouse intertwine repeatedly, wandering from ravine to hilltop and across open meadows. Occasionally, their delicate footprints overlap and join at some bush where a few frozen berries have brought them together. Then the interlaced trails spread out again — a delicate inscription on the fresh snow.

In spring and early summer, prairie crocus or pasque flowers may be seen on almost any open slope in the Sand Hills. In early April and May the first pale lavender blooms of this prairie plant spread over south-facing sunny hillsides.

The symmetrical white spruce trees, together with the prairie grasses of the open areas, have been a

A stump of white spruce, marked by an old burn.

characteristic feature of the Sand Hills for many centuries. Pollen preserved in peat bogs reveals that this was the predominant flora growing in southern Manitoba six to eight thousand years ago when the rest of the province was covered with glacial ice. The present spruce-prairie flora of the Sand Hills is a surviving trace of the Ice Age, a relict of post-glacial times. This plant community probably spread over a wide region but has survived only here, owing to the nature of the soil and climate of the Sand Hills. There is little doubt that mammoths and giant bison once roamed over this landscape, followed by men armed with flint-tipped spears. Recent discoveries of ancient spear-heads show that man has long known the Sand Hills.

The hills themselves are part of an Ice Age deltaic deposit of up to 200 feet of sand, formed in post-glacial times when the Assiniboine River discharged into Glacial Lake Agassiz. Following the drainage and reduction in size of this large, cold lake, the sands of the delta, exposed to strong winds, were heaped up in active dunes over an area of several hundred square miles — what must have been a forbidding landscape. Today, in the abrupt slopes and angled contours of many grassed and forested hills may be seen shapes of former dunes.

The stabilization of this large area of dunes by plants must have taken a long time. Portions of the area which are presently in open dune condition were known early in the historic period and probably existed for hundreds of years earlier. The 'Bald Head Hills' or 'Spirit Hills' as

The slow, steady advance of the dunes buries trees that eventually die.

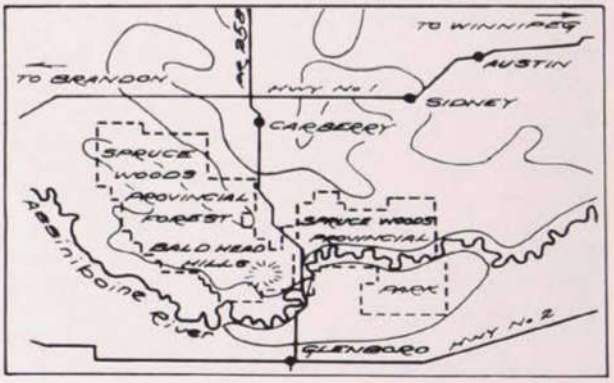
the Indians called them, are the largest dunes in the area, and have long been known as Manitoba's 'desert'. These dunes, about 10 miles south of Carberry, contain within an area of about 15 square miles, several large dunes almost completely devoid of vegetation. The largest of these, about four square miles in extent, presents a desert-like vista. No true desert plants grow here, and only because of the abundance of wind-sifted sand can this area be considered a desert.

The dunes, some as high as 50 feet, are advancing, but clumps of grass growing on their surfaces and fresh water springs and associated aquatic vegetation at their bases reveal a slow rate of movement. Ripple marks, lovely patterns of parallel, wavy lines on their surface, though formed by wind resemble ripple marks made under water by waves along sandy beaches. Patterns made in the sand one day are generally erased by wind on the next. There is a new record almost every morning of night-time visitors to the dunes; delicate tracks of mouse, toad, and beetle excursions intersect trails of fox, skunk, rabbit, and deer.

Grasses and other 'sand prairie' plants that are well adapted to sandy soil and low rainfall occur in the dunes in many places. To be successful these invaders must be able to withstand the abrasive effects of wind-blown sand, extreme temperatures, and the possibilities of being buried or of having their roots uncovered. There is a continual struggle between these hardy plants and the

Rose hips.

Sand dunes are lightly outlined.



moving sand. Under suitable conditions the plants win, eventually paving the way for the growth of trees. Once established, grasses and trees greatly reduce the effect of wind and thus hold the sand in place. But it is a fragile system, easily upset by fire, drought, trampling by cattle and motorized vehicles. Loss of the thin vegetative cover could result in large areas being opened to wind erosion. Subsequent loss of the meagre soil layer might mean even larger dunes than exist at present, setting the Sand Hill succession back hundreds of years. Elimination of most wildlife species would be but one effect of such a drastic change.

In early historic times the white spruce trees were sought for logs for cabins, and more than one sawmill was in operation in the area. But it has been a long time since the last sawmill closed down and the forest resource of the Sand Hills has never been regarded as significant. Forestry management in the area has largely been limited to planting spruce and pine in rows to halt erosion of cultivated lands. Some concern has been expressed that the planting of trees may lessen the natural appearance of the Sand Hills, reduce the grassed open slopes, or in the distant future give rise to commercial logging in a region of high recreational potential. On the other hand, foresters have recently embarked on an aerial spraying program to save the native white spruce from an infestation of spruce bud-worms. Some ecologists argue that this is unnecessary and potentially damaging to wildlife, but one would hate to see the magnificent old white spruce trees — a major feature of the Sand Hills — killed back by the voracious insect pests. It is hard to strike an ecological bargain that will satisfy everyone. Some foresters have suggested that the area be maintained in a natural state, but this is not an easy matter. Ecological succession in the absence of fire favours trembling aspen; this tree species now dominates over much of the area, closing in on the spruce and overriding the prairie grasslands. Should the area come under management for wildlife and scenic values, some use of controlled fire would probably be necessary. One ecologist maintains that the large number of accidental fires within the Camp Shilo Military Reservation in Spruce Woods Provincial Forest has thus been beneficial in keeping the forest open and attractive to big game.

A fine stand of mixed-grass prairie on a glacial outwash plain southeast of Camp Shilo and extending to

A pattern of wind-rippled sand across a massive dune.

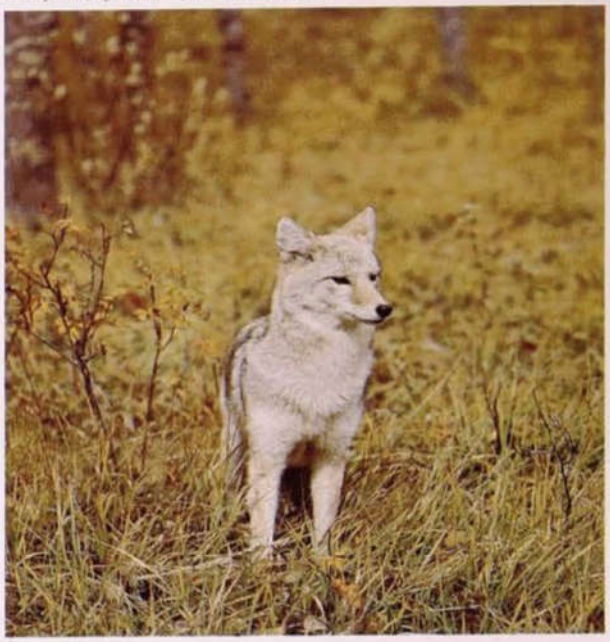
the Assiniboine River lies within the military reservation. Apart from a few tracks of armoured tanks this uncultivated prairie is in pristine condition. Upland Plovers and Chestnut-collared Longspurs vie with brilliant prairie flowers – purple coneflower, gaillardia and blazing star – for the attention of naturalists. Botanists working under the International Biological Programme have recommended this prairie for permanent preservation, but meanwhile it is kept intact by the military.

Travellers on the Trans-Canada Highway, or on other roads in the region may camp overnight in Spruce Woods Provincial Park. This facility was recently developed beside an oxbow along the south side of the Assiniboine River, halfway between Carberry and Glenboro on the south on Highway No. 2. The campground, which is in the Assiniboine River Valley, is within walking distance of the high banks of the Assiniboine River to the west and the adjacent Bald Head Hills dune area. The dunes are within the Camp Shilo Military Reservation and are a buffer area for an artillery and bombing range. Because it may contain unexploded ammunition, the area generally is out of bounds to visitors.

Several physiographic features support the idea of preserving the hills as a relict of the Ice Age. As one approaches the Sand Hills from the east on the Trans-Canada Highway, there is an abrupt change in soil type with a rapid rise in elevation. This slope marks the Campbell strandline, a ridge trending northwest across the area, just east of Sidney, Manitoba. This beach was formed about 7500 - 8500 B.C. as the western shore of Glacial Lake Agassiz. Rolling sandhills stretch westward from this point for 25 miles; it is along this stretch of highway that one encounters spectacular white spruce-dry prairie landscape, both to the north and south of the highway. Pine Creek, flowing north across the highway seven miles west of Sidney, provides a good example of a minor glacial spillway. Its wide valley and steep walls, clearly visible from the highway, are in great contrast to the small, clear stream that wends along the bottom. Where the creek crosses the highway, a small picnic site, Seton Park, affords a temporary stop.

The area has other features that recommend national attention. Near Sewell Lake and along Epinette Creek deep within the Military Reserve, a lowland covered with black spruce and tamarack shelters a herd of about 50 moose. These great animals seldom leave this remote area and their haunts are known only to military personnel and wildlife biologists. Elk, too, inhabit the Spruce Woods; as many as 145 have been counted. Unlike the moose, the elk, which are becoming more numerous range down onto cultivated fields in the flats along the Assiniboine River. White-tailed Deer are numerous throughout the area. Wolves are occasionally reported and coyotes are common. The height of land above Spruce Woods Provincial Park is a good place to stand at night to listen for the marvellous music of coyotes baying to each other.

A coyote, symbol of the wilderness.

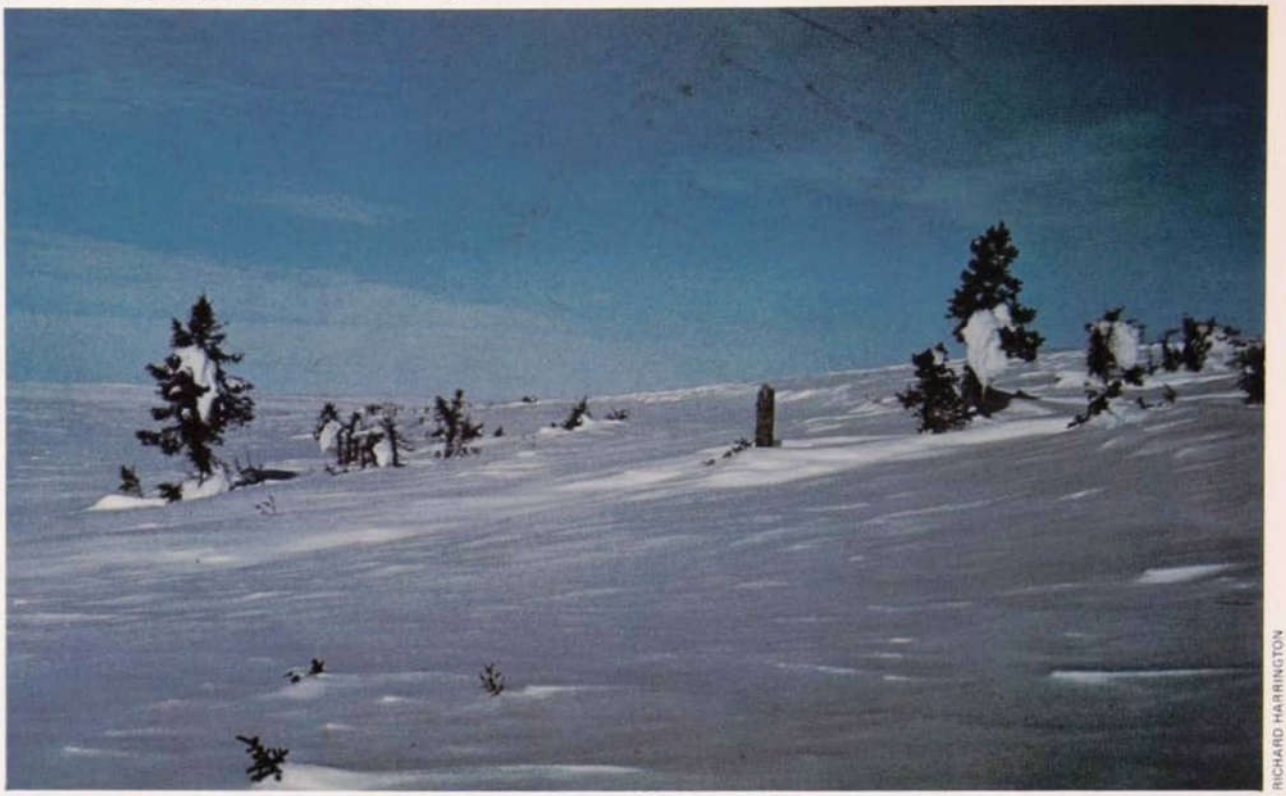


The Sand Hills area has an astonishing variety of habitats and a rich mixture of wildlife. Close to 150 species of birds breed here, including several that otherwise are known to occur only far to the northward; southern woodland and grassland birds are common. Boreal Chickadees are as abundant as Black-capped Chickadees and songs of Lark Sparrows and Rose-breasted Grosbeaks may be heard in medley. Mountain and Eastern Bluebirds abound. Spruce Grouse, Ruffed Grouse, and Sharp-tailed Grouse occur, the latter two species sometimes abundantly. Biologists have suggested the possibility of reintroducing to the area species that once occurred and could possibly again become a part of the local fauna: Bison, Pronghorn, Mule Deer, and Otter.

Spruce-ringed bogs with enchanting arrays of insectivorous pitcher plants, bog laurel and fragile orchids lie a short distance from cactus-studded, sandy slopes, windswept, open dunes, and dark forests. Hidden lakes deep within the spruce-tamarack lowlands have been visited by few naturalists; on a hot day the sweating visitor trudging across the Sand Hills or onto the blazing dunes may have no idea that not far away moose are standing in clear, cool pools, browsing on water lilies. ◆

Cool morning light reveals the tracks of night-time visitors, and at left, a snowshoe rabbit in May, still showing some of its white winter pelage.

The edge of the Barrens. Three times in four years, the Slave Woman crossed the Barrens from Hudson Bay to the wooded country south of Great Slave Lake.



RICHARD HARRINGTON

THANADELTHUR

BY SYLVIA VAN KIRK

The author, currently Visiting Killam Fellow at Dalhousie University, is reading for her PhD under the guidance of Dr Glyndwr Williams, University of London.
Quotations from the H B C Archives are made with the permission of the Company.

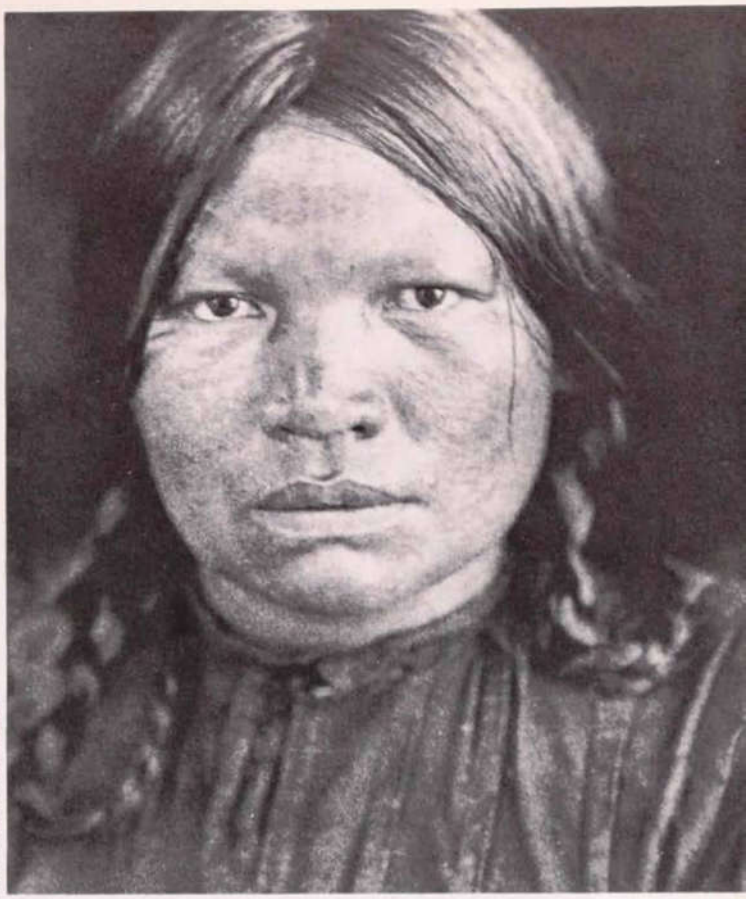
In 1714, Thanadelthur came to Ten Shilling Creek, shown here as it flows into the Hayes River (1880).

ONE OF THE FEW WOMEN to have been accorded a place in the history of the Canadian North is Thanadelthur, a remarkable Chipewyan Indian better known as the Slave Woman. Her fame rests on the successful outcome of an arduous journey undertaken for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1715-16. Several authors have told the story of how Company servant William Stuart with the aid of the Slave Woman negotiated a peace between the Cree and Chipewyan tribes which paved the way for the establishment of a fort at the mouth of the Churchill River. Little attention, however, has been given to Thanadelthur as a personality in her own right or to her position at York Factory after the conclusion of the peace mission as Governor James Knight's 'advisor'.

In the journals of York Factory, Thanadelthur is always referred to as the Slave Woman. She, along with other of her countrywomen, had been captured by the Crees in a raid upon the Chipewyans in the spring of 1713. The Crees, being the first to obtain guns from the traders, had gained the ascendancy in this tribal conflict and so devastating had their attacks been that one branch of the Chipewyans came to be known as Slaves. According to Chipewyan oral tradition, the Slave Woman's real name was Thanadelthur which meant 'marten shake'. The explorer Samuel Hearne, an astute observer of Chipewyan society in the later 18th century, recorded that girls were usually named after some part or property of the marten.

Although inaccurate in specific detail, it is notable that the story of Thanadelthur as handed down by the Chipewyans emphasized her youth and attractiveness. If Chipewyan women, in general, failed to conform to the Englishman's ideal of beauty, Hearne conceded that many were of 'a most delicate make' and 'tolerable' when young. Owing to her difficult way of life, a girl's beauty was particularly fleeting. Given in marriage when very young, the care of a family added to her constant hard labour rendering even the best-looking woman old and wrinkled before she was thirty. It is probable, therefore, that Thanadelthur was in her teens when captured by the Crees. Strong, young women constituted a valuable prize in Indian warfare since female labour was of such importance in a nomadic society. Apart from being 'a handsome young woman', Thanadelthur possessed a forceful and intelligent character – a combination which captured the interest of the doughty old governor of York Factory, James Knight.

In the fall of 1714 when James Knight reclaimed the fort from the French under the Treaty of Utrecht, he was anxious not only to re-establish English trade but to extend it northward. The existence of the Chipewyans or Northern Indians was known, but their fear of the Crees prevented them from venturing to the Bayside. Knight's only contact with the Northern Indians was through his chance meeting with female captives held by the Crees. Thanadelthur was not the first 'Slave Woman'



PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

A young Chipewyan woman who would appear to have the Slave Woman's qualities of 'high spirit and firmest resolution'. From a photograph by Edward S. Curtis, c. 1900.

to seek refuge at York Factory. That fall another Chipewyan woman had escaped and made her way to the fort. The information she had given Knight about her country sealed his determination to establish a trade with the Chipewyans. This first woman sickened and died on 22 November. Knight was lamenting his loss when two days later, Thanadelthur was brought in 'Allmost Starv'd'.

She had a harrowing tale to tell. Earlier in the fall when camped on the north side of the Nelson River, Thanadelthur with another of her countrywomen had escaped from their Cree master, hoping to make it back to their people before the winter set in. They had only the catch from their snares to subsist on and when cold and hunger finally drove them to turn back, the two women clung to the wild hope that they might find the traders whose wondrous goods they had seen in the Cree camps. Only Thanadelthur survived. Several days after her companion had perished, she stumbled across some tracks which led her to the tent of the Company's goose hunters at Ten Shilling Creek.

Knight was immediately impressed with his new informant who spoke encouragingly of her people and their rich fur resources. Even though her present knowledge of the Cree language was indifferent, she would be of 'great Service to me in my Intention' he wrote

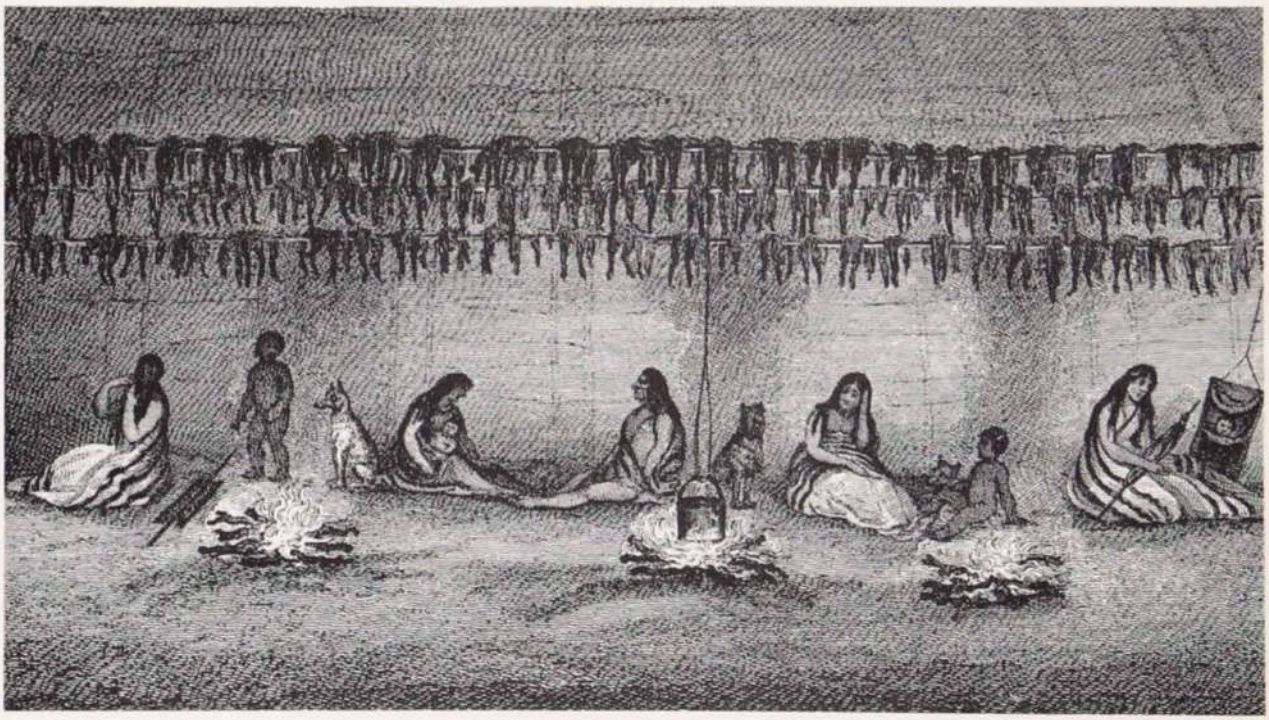
enthusiastically. To ensure the success of his plans, Knight realized that he must first endeavour to establish peace between the Crees and the Chipewyans. Early in June 1715, the Governor gave a feast for his 'Home' Crees and persuaded them to send a peace delegation to their enemies. They were to be accompanied by one of the Company's servants, William Stuart, and the Slave Woman. Bands of 'Upland' Crees coming in to trade were also encouraged to join the peace mission, so that the party which set off on 27 June numbered about one hundred and fifty. Knight entrusted Thanadelthur, who was to act as interpreter, to the special protection of Stuart: he directed him to 'take care that none of the Indians abuse or Missuse the Slave Woman'. He gave the Chipewyan woman a quantity of presents to distribute among her people, instructing her to tell them that the English would build a fort on the Churchill River in the fall of 1716.

Thanadelthur, who readily appreciated the importance of her position, soon became the dominating spirit of the expedition. Stuart was amazed at the way she kept the Crees in awe of her and 'never Spared in telling them of their Cowardly way of Killing her Country Men.' Disaster stalked the enterprise, however. Slowed by sickness and threatened with starvation on the long trek across the Barren Grounds, the party had to break up to survive. Most of the bands turned back, leaving only Stuart, the Slave Woman, and the Cree captain with about a dozen of his followers determined to find the Chipewyans. Failure seemed certain when Stuart's party stumbled across the bodies of nine Northern Indians, slain by one of the other Cree bands. Fearing the revenge of the Chipewyans, the remaining Crees now wanted to abandon the search.

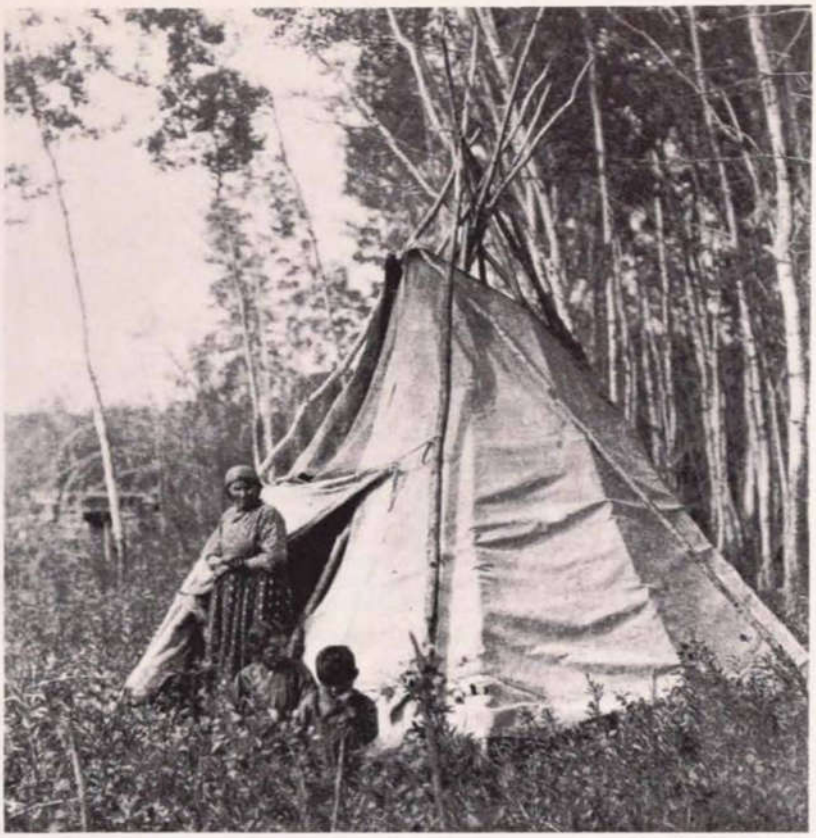
At this juncture Thanadelthur seized the initiative. She persuaded the Crees that if they would wait ten days she would be able to find her people and return with them to make peace. She left the Crees to fortify their camp in case of attack and within a few days she came upon a large band of her countrymen. It required all her powers of persuasion to get them to return with her; she had to make herself hoarse 'with the perpetuall talking' before the Chipewyans could be convinced of the pacific intent of their enemies. In true epic fashion on the tenth day, Thanadelthur and two emissaries came in sight of the Cree camp. When Stuart came out to meet them and conduct them to his tent, she signalled to the rest of the delegation, over a hundred strong, that it was safe to approach. According to oral tradition, Thanadelthur was placed on a raised platform, 'so that her people could see her and have confidence. When she beheld her people coming, she sang with joy'.

With the help of the Cree captain, Thanadelthur once again assured her people that their party bore no responsibility for the recent unfortunate raid upon the Chipewyans and that the Crees were most anxious for peace. With those who remained doubtful, this forceful diplomat had no patience:

A group of 'Home' Indians – Crees who lived on the Hayes River and traded into York Factory. Strips of caribou meat hang in the smoke above the fires. From Chappell's 'Voyage to Hudson's Bay', published in 1817.



'Camp among the Aspens'. A Curtis photograph c. 1900, of a Chipewyan woman and children.



PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

She made them all Stand in fear of her she Scolded at Some and pushing of others . . . and forcd them to ye peace.

William Stuart was full of admiration:

Indeed She has a Divellish Spirit and I believe that if thare were but 50 of her Country Men of the same Carriage and Resolution they would drive all the Northern [Southern] Indians in America out of there Country.

Stuart's party arrived back at York Factory on 7 May 1716, accompanied by ten Chipewyans one of whom appears to have been Thanadelthur's brother. The Englishman emphasized that the mission owed its success to his remarkable Chipewyan ally who had been 'the Chief promoter and Acter' of it.

Considering the status of women in Chipewyan society, how would it have been possible for Thanadelthur to attain such a prestigious position? In the eyes of the traders, Chipewyan women led a degraded existence. They served as beasts of burden and their misery, in an endless round of domestic drudgery, was intensified by the harshness of the northern environment. 'What is a woman good for . . . she is only to work and carry our things' a Chipewyan explained to David Thompson. Samuel Hearne observed women carrying up to one hundred and fifty pounds in summer and hauling a much greater weight by sled in winter. He was shocked to discover that in times of scarcity the women were the first to suffer. Although he denounced this unchivalrous treatment of women, Hearne admitted that it arose from their nomadic way of life, where the men had to be left free to hunt, and that 'custom makes it sit light on those whose lot it is to bear it'.

Furthermore, it appears that the women were not entirely without influence within the tribe. According to Alexander Mackenzie's account of the Chipewyans, although 'the women are as much in the power of the men, as any other articles of their property, they are always consulted, and possess a very considerable influence in the traffic with Europeans, and other important concerns.' Thus, Thanadelthur could expect to command attention when she brought news that the English traders intended to establish a trading post for the Chipewyans. Her favoured position was indeed derived directly from her connection with the traders. William Stuart was often afraid that her constant berating of the Crees of their party might have provoked them to kill her 'had I not given them such a Strict Charge not to Abuse her'. To her own people, Thanadelthur was their link with the English who promised to trade marvellous goods, particularly guns which would help them to improve their hunts and to withstand their enemies. As a

JOHN MACFIE

The September migration of geese to the South was a source of 'fresh Victuals' but in 1716 the men were confined to York Factory by Indians who had come from the interior to trade. Governor Knight was without supplies; the Company ship had failed to arrive in 1715.

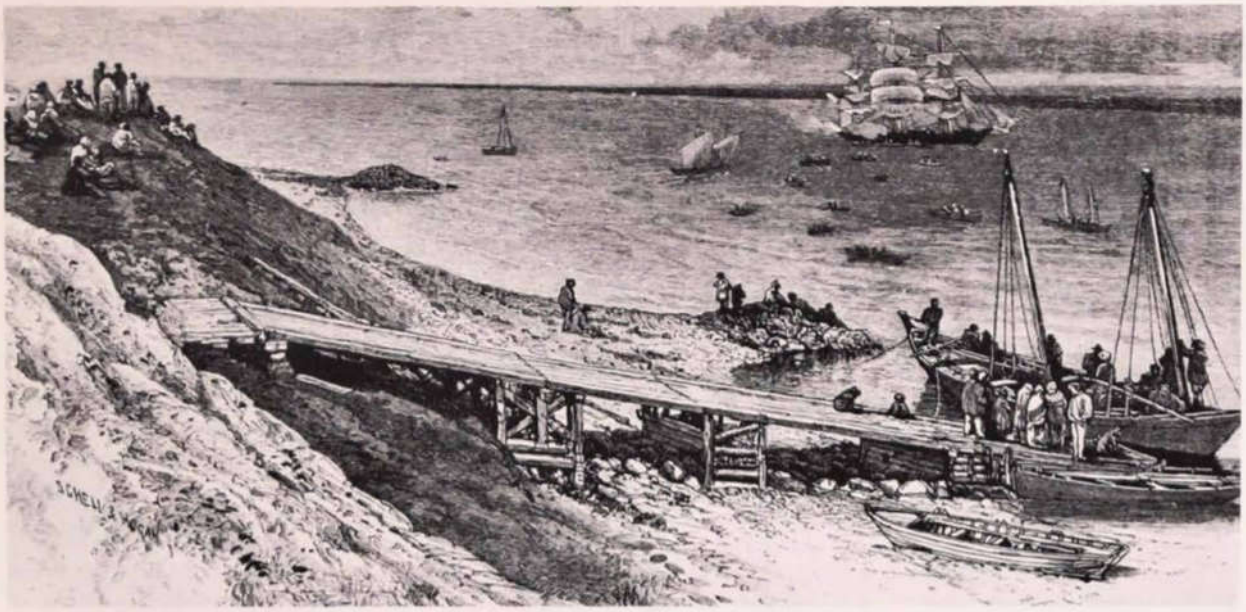
result of the peace mission, Governor Knight declared, the Slave Woman had earned considerable respect and 'Carry'd a Great Sway Among the Indians'.

It had originally been Knight's intention to send the Chipewyans, including Thanadelthur, back to their own country in the autumn of 1716. The season of 1715-1716 had been a disastrous one at York, however, owing to the non-arrival of the annual ship and he was forced to postpone his plans for establishing the post at Churchill. Having recently endured the hardship of the long trek to the factory, the Chipewyans were not ready to return; they were afraid of being killed when passing through the country of the 'Upland' Crees who had not been party to the peace ceremony. Knight, therefore, allowed them to winter at York – Thanadelthur and three others within the fort, the rest with the 'Home' Cree.

Since the return of the peace mission, Thanadelthur had 'know'd well Enough' how to make the most of her exalted status. Devoted to the traders' interests, she instructed her companions as to what furs were valuable and how to prepare them. When one old Chipewyan had the audacity to suggest that less than prime pelts should be accepted, she was most incensed. She 'ketcht him by the nose Push'd him backwards & call'd him fool and told him if they brought any but Such as they ware directed they would not bee traded'. Yet Thanadelthur herself was not without duplicity. In June, Knight made her a present of a little kettle to take with her on her return journey. His feelings were injured when soon after he discovered that she had given it away; he taxed her for this lack of regard and she denied it. Knight then confronted her with the offending kettle, whereupon Thanadelthur flew into a rage, claimed the kettle had been stolen, and threatened the old governor that if he ever set foot on Churchill River she would direct her Indians to kill him.

'She did rise in such a passion as I never did see the Like before' declared Knight, so 'I cuff'd her Ears for her.' When her fit of temper achieved nothing, Thanadelthur resorted to more feminine wiles to regain the sympathy of Knight. The next morning she came penitently to him and through her tears, admitted that she had been 'a fool & Madd'. She hastened to assure Knight that he was like a father to them all and vowed that he would never come to any harm because she and all her Indians would always love him.

Thereafter, Thanadelthur appears to have behaved admirably. She now possessed considerable fluency in both Cree and English and never missed an opportunity to sing the praises of the Hudson's Bay Company to both the Chipewyans and the Crees. Knight was more interested, however, in the stories she told of rich mineral deposits somewhere to the northwest. According to Thanadelthur, her countrymen had promised to bring 'a great deal of copper' when they came to visit the new post at Churchill. Even more exciting was the news that the Chipewyan knew of other Indians who possessed a 'yellow mettle' which Knight took to be gold. The governor was now determined that the post at Churchill must be established as early as possible in the summer of 1717. Being highly impressed with the 'Extraordinary Vivacity' of her quick mind, Knight sought Thanadelthur's advice for all his plans, she 'Readily takeing anything right as was proposed to her & Presently Give her Opinion whether it would doo or not.'



The Hudson's Bay Company ship arrives at York Factory. From a drawing in 'Picturesque Canada', 1882.

Thanadelthur was enthusiastic about Knight's proposal that she should again travel to the Chipewyans to explain that the English had been delayed but would definitely build their fort at Churchill the coming summer. Although sometime during this period she appears to have taken a husband, probably one of the Chipewyans who had accompanied her back to York, Thanadelthur refused to let marital duties interfere with this important commission. She informed Knight that she would leave her husband if he would not accompany her. Imbued with a sense of mission, Thanadelthur had decided that she could 'never rest' until she had spread the news of the coming of the English traders amongst all the Chipewyans, a task which would take about two and a half years. She and her companions were to leave in the early spring of 1717, accompanied by the young apprentice, Richard Norton.

The extremely severe winter at York unfortunately proved disastrous for the Chipewyans. The conditions at the factory, so different from 'their Naturall way of Living', and the want of 'fresh Victuals' caused several, including Thanadelthur, to fall ill. On 11 January, Knight recorded in his journal: 'ye Northern Slave Woman has been dangerously Ill and I expected her Death every Day, but I hope she is now a Recovering'. The governor worked unceasingly trying to nurse the ailing Chipewyans back to health. He would suffer a serious setback in losing his only interpreters, and was also afraid of the 'Jealousy & Suspicion' that might result among the Indians should they die. Although on her deathbed, Thanadelthur struggled bravely. She called the 'English Boy' who was to have gone with her to learn the language, to her bedside and told him not to be afraid to go with her people. She assured him that her brother, whom she had asked Knight to designate an Indian captain, 'would love him and not lett him want for anything'. Four days later, on 5 February 1717, Thanadelthur died. 'I am almost ready to break my heart' wrote Knight in despair.

He tried to conceal her death from her companions, three more of whom were to die within a month, but they 'Quickly came to Understand it'. After she had been buried, Knight gave all Thanadelthur's possessions to her mother and her brother as she had requested shortly before she died. He also gave some small gifts to her friends 'to Wipe away their Sorrow'. The old governor's grief lay deeper than in the fact that Thanadelthur's death 'will be very Prejudiciall to the Companys Interest'. He had come to regard this woman as one of the most extraordinary people he had ever met:

> She was one of a Very high Spirit and of the Firmest Resolution that ever I see any Body in my Days and of great Courage & forecast . . .

With bitter irony, Knight ended his journal entry for February 5: 'the finest Weather wee have had any Day this Season but the most Melancholys't by the Loss of her'.

So heavily did Knight rely on the interpreting services of Chipewyan women that he managed with great difficulty to secure another Slave Woman though she cost him 'above 60 skins value in goods'. This woman set off with Richard Norton in July of 1717 to contact the Chipewyans while an advance party of Company servants sailed to the Churchill River to begin construction on the new post. ◆

'Comodityes besides Furres'

BY DOUGLAS LEECHMAN

Quotations from Hudson's Bay Record Society volumes are made with permission of the Company.

FURS IN PRIME CONDITION and abundance were the mainstay of H B C trade for more than two and a half centuries. The Indians were instructed when to trap the animals, how to treat the skins, and how to transport them to trading posts. Once a year the supply ship sailed into Hudson Bay and once a year it returned to England with its cargo. But operating costs were high, for everything – food and drink, clothing, trade goods, guns and ammunition, traps, beads, tobacco, bricks, lumber and tools had to be brought in from England. In the early years 'country produce' supplied few of the wants of the posts.

Was there nothing besides furs that could be found in the New World that might prove profitable in the Old? The Governor and Committee in London thought there might well be and, in 1683, called the matter to the attention of those in the trading posts on the Bay. '. . . we hope you will shew your Dilligence and skill to make new Discoveries of things that may turne to the advantage of the Company besides what we already traffique in: and we Doe assure you we shall not faile to *reward all such Discoveries*.'

Again, in 1687, they suggested: 'wee would have you to Search after by your owne industry with the help of the Natives some other Sort of Comodityes besides Furres veryly beleeveing upon true paines takeing many things might bee found out in those parts that would greatly turne to account you must Consider Wee are at Vast expences in Wages and provisions'.

Dozens of experiments must have been tried – projects of which there is no record, ideas that looked promising at the time but which proved useless or not sufficiently profitable. Many of the traders sent suggestions of their own accord to the London office. In addition to fur, they drew attention to walrus tusks, whale oil, sealskins, castoreum, tar and turpentine, drugs and dyes, paint, feathers, copper, lead, and iron. Curiously, polar bear skins and falcons, both of which would have been in great demand in Europe, seem to have been overlooked.

In the animal kingdom experiments ranged from the collection of bear's grease to the pursuit of whales. Bear's grease had long been in use, both in North America and Europe. It was carefully collected and rendered down whenever a bear was killed. Cooks used it for shortening; ladies used it as a cosmetic; men used it as a hair dressing, and druggists as a vehicle for their potions, making ointments and unguents. The Iroquois used it as we use butter. In 1420 in England, workmen were urged 'every tole in beres grees befoul' – smear bear's grease on your tools to prevent rust. Bears were extinct in Great Britain by the 11th century, though they were plentiful in some parts of the continent. In the Minutes of Council dated June 1829 it was decided 'That the Gentlemen in Charge of districts be directed to use every exertion to collect Bears Grease as it is likely to become a valuable article of Trade, for which Credit will be taken in account at 2s. 6d. per lbs.'

The buffalo too, the Committee believed, should provide saleable products. In their letter to Governor James Knight at Albany dated 30 May 1694 they stated: '*Moose skins or Buffelo hydes are a* great commodity here this Warr time, therefore if any are to be had pray send them home & suffer them not to be used in the Factory Upon any accott. whatsoever'. The tongues of the buffalo, regarded as a delicacy by both Indians and traders, were also considered of value. In 1822, instructions were given that Colin Robertson was to be supplied with '15 kegs of Salt at Norway House . . . for the purpose of curing Buffalo Tongues for the London market'. The tongues were said to be in great demand in London and on 1 September 1822 George Simpson wrote that a sample shipment of 500 'is now forwarded by way of experiment' and a better recipe for cooking them was asked for. It was recommended that the salted tongues be soaked in cold water for 20 to 30 hours before boiling. So promising did this venture look that an order went out that 'no consumption of buffalo tongues be permitted at any of the Posts'. Nevertheless, by 1823, it had to be admitted that the tongues had not found a profitable market in London.

Buffalo wool was another item believed to have potential value. It was available in quantity, could be easily combed from the hides, and a strong warm cloth could, it was imagined, be woven from it. John Pritchard of the Red River Settlement formed the Buffalo Wool Company in which H B C officers bought shares. Arrangements were made to supply Pritchard with skins from which to comb the wool and men were hired to

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Dr Leechman, author and lexicographer, was former chief anthropologist at the National Museum of Canada.

ERNEST BROWN COLLECTION

Fur trader Colin Fraser, born at Fort Chipewyan in 1850 and the son of Colin Fraser who piped Governor George Simpson, sorts black fox skins from a collection of furs valued at $35,000.

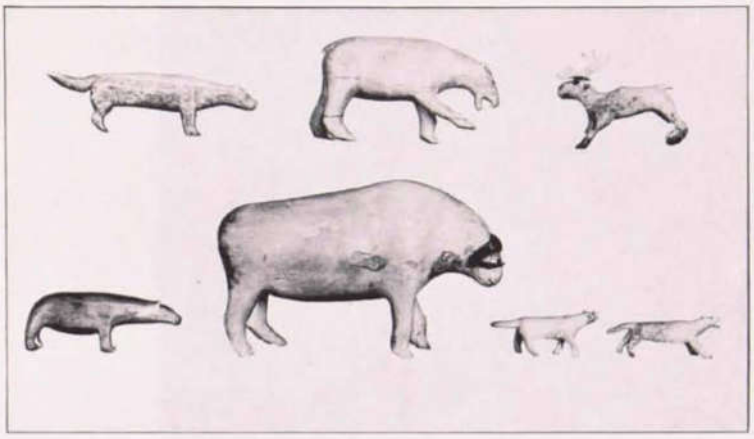
work at the tan pits, for it was the intention to tan the hides as well as to harvest the wool. The net result was a greater failure than anybody involved could have anticipated, for the end product of all these efforts was inferior to ordinary woollen cloth and was much more expensive to produce.

The side products of the beaver were also investigated. The beaver was known to secrete from a pair of perineal glands a thick oily substance known as castoreum. In the seventeenth century, the substance was reputed to 'destroy fleas; is an excellent stomachic, stops hiccough; induces sleep; strengthens the sight, and taken up the nose it causes sneezing and clears the brain'.

The demands for these glands or 'beaver cods' was so great that the London office begged for more and gave orders that the Company's servants in the Bay were not to trade in them for personal gain. They reasoned that since there were two glands in each animal, both male and female, there should be twice as many beaver stones as there were skins, but they never received nearly as many. The Indian trappers could not be bothered with drying and preserving the glands for the market, no matter how often they were urged to do so. This was a serious loss to the Company, as Andrew Graham pointed out, for castoreum brought more than nine shillings a pound in London.

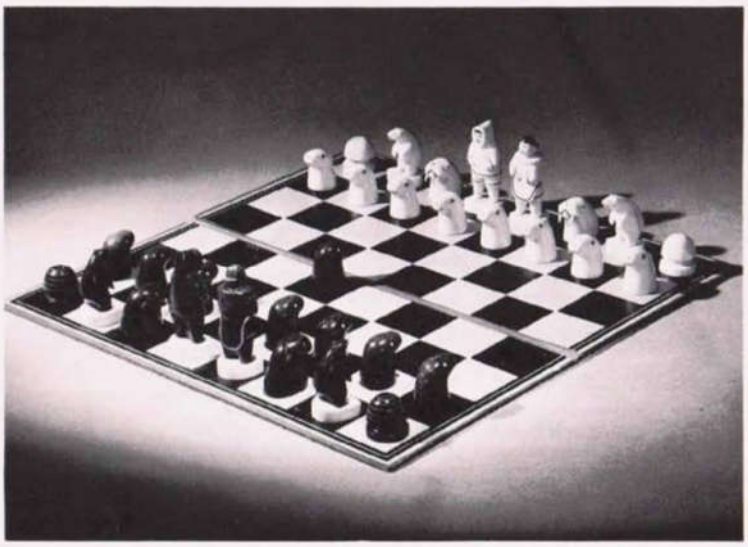
Another animal by-product that had a short trial was the musk of the 'northern buffalo', or musk-ox. In 1716, after great difficulty, a small quantity of musk was collected and sent home for trial. Improper handling made it lose some of its strength, but it was still hoped that it might prove of value. The following year, the Company wrote 'As to the Musk wee must have a large Quantity before we Can make any Judgement of it.' That seems to have been the end of the project.

Musk-ox wool was more promising. Andrew Graham quotes a translation of a note by Nicholas Jeremie, who said: 'These animals have a very fine wool, and it is longer than that of the Barbary sheep. I brought some to France in 1708, of which I had some stockings made, which were finer than those made of silk'. Once considered an endangered species, the musk-ox is now being



NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF CANADA

Small ivory figures collected by the American whaling captain, George Comer, from Eskimos in Hudson Bay and along the Labrador Coast, c. 1910.



Chess pieces – the ivory carved by Kapee and the soapstone by Paulasuo, both of Lake Harbour, Baffin Island.

domesticated in at least three places, and its warm, light wool, called qivuit, is being woven into textiles of great delicacy and beauty.

Ivory, always a rich and rare cargo, was not abundant in Canada. There were quantities of fossil ivory in the Arctic, but that fact was not known in the early years on the Bay. The only ivory that was familiar was obtained from walrus tusks, whale teeth, and narwhal horns or tusks. Bear teeth and seal teeth should be included, for they were used to some extent by the Eskimos.

The narwhal's tusk earned it the name of 'sea unicorn' and the chances were that a good many tusks were, at one time or another, sold in Europe as genuine unicorn's horns. They would have commanded almost any price, for their ivory was believed to be proof against poisons. Samuel Hearne records that he never saw a narwhal but that he obtained a number of tusks through trade with the Eskimos while he was at Fort Prince of Wales. They were of good quality, but for the helical twist of the tusk which tended to split as the ivory dried out. Consequently small articles were about all that could be made from it. The Eskimos used it when it served their purpose to make harpoon heads and other articles. They were not shipped from the Bay to England to any extent, though they might well have proved profitable.

Walrus tusks, a second source of ivory, were soon the object of experimentation. The Committee in London wrote: 'Wee are informed there are Greate quantities of seahorse teeth in the Bay wch. would bee a Considerable Commoditie if you can bring the Natives to gett them, for trade, wee therefore recommend it to you and every thinge else wch. may probably bring benefit to the Company for wee are at very vast Expence in carying on our buisnesse'.

This, at last, appeared to be something worth while. In 1689 the Committee, in another letter, urging them to 'bee industrious, in getting a Trade of Sea Morse Teeth of which wee heare in some places great quantity's may bee had, and which Wee Declare from henceforth to bee the Companyes Comodity and doe prohibite any of our Servants to deale in or to Conceale.' In the Fort Chimo returns for 1832 - 33 there were 270 pounds of ivory, presumably walrus. Walrus ivory was of good quality except for the burl in the middle of the basal section, and was used extensively in the carving of small articles, such as buttons.

Somewhat less important than mammals were the birds. Eider ducks were common in the North and their down had long been used in the Old World. The Eskimos were inclined to use the whole skin rather than the down garnered from the nests as was done in Europe, where the ducks were partly domesticated and kept in enclosures. The fine, soft down, ideal for pillow stuffing and for insulation was, when first taken from the nest, filled with bits of twigs, leaves, and moss. Some was sent to London in 1822 and brought the following comment

'The Sample of Eider down from the Eastmain Coast, in the state sent home is not worth more than 3s. or 3s.6d. p. lb. – but if it were properly cleaned from the straw and other rough particles, the down would then fetch from 10 to 12s.' There is little subsequent mention of eiderdown though efforts were made again from time to time to establish the industry in the North.

Ducks and geese formed an important part of the country food available at forts on the Bay; thousands were killed, preserved, and eaten every year. The Company was not slow to realize that where there were birds there were feathers, and feathers brought a good price. In 1680 the London office wrote: 'Wee suppose the Natives killing every year great quantities of Fowl, it were advisable *for you to encourage them to preserve the Feathers, and to bring them to our Factories, where no doubt you shall purchase them for a small matter, and might thereby alleviate (at least in some part) the charge of our factorys. . . also of any other small trade that may be yet unknown to us, and hereafter discovered by your ingenuity & care.*'

During the years between 1688 and 1694, 555 pounds of feathers reached London; in 1739, 502 pounds were shipped; and in 1801 the figure was no less

Narwhal tusks, elongated teeth developed by the male.

FRED BRUEMMER

The whole skin of the eider duck was used by the Eskimos to make light, warm parkas.

than 2,428 pounds. There were difficulties, however. For one thing the Indians, it was said in 1723, are 'not used to pluck them carefully' and , worse still, the same letter continues 'we have a great many of our geese killed by the Englishmen [servants of the Company] who expects the feathers of the geese they kill'.

Once plucked, goose feathers had to be prepared for shipment. In 1739 the London office was asked to send out 'old canvas to make bags for the Indian hunters to save them in, as well as for many other uses.' In 1784 the spring goose hunt at Severn amounted to 600 birds and the post 'lost all the Feathers for want of anything to make bags of.'

Feathers were in great and constant demand on the London market. Those of water birds were best for making feather beds, being lighter and softer than others. Feathers with stiff shafts had to be stripped and the whole collection had to be dried and beaten with wands to get rid of dust before they could be used in beds and pillows.

Quills, kept separate from the small feathers, were reserved for making pens. Those plucked from a living, moulting goose were the best, and there were but five feathers in each wing suitable for pens; of these, the second and third were the best. The quills from the left were preferred because their natural curve was away from the wrist. In 1801 the H B C ships carried 121,000 quills in their cargo.

London gave definite instructions as to how quills were to be shipped. In 1821 they said: 'More Care

B. C. ARCHIVES

Fort Langley from a sketch by E. Mallandaine done in 1859, the year that Yale left the post after 31 years of service there.

should be taken in assorting the Goose Quills than has hitherto been the case; four Samples are sent to you No. 1 to 4, and the Quills should be separated according to these Samples, and tied up in Bundles of *One hundred* each. The Swan Quills should not be cut as has been the Case latterly, this reduces their Value more than half they should be shipd in the full length as they are pluck'd from the Swans wing.'

When the quills reached England they had to be cleaned, dried, buried in hot sand, scraped, cut, and slit. As pens wore down in the course of use, they had to be trimmed again, and for this purpose every man who used a pen carried his own 'pen' knife.

Some of the best quill pens were made from swan feathers, but there does not seem to have been much trade in these from the Bay. Fort Vancouver sent some swan skins back to England in 1825 'to see what they would Sell for and to know if worth Collecting.'

At Forts Vancouver and Langley experiments were conducted with fish products. At Fort Langley, James Yale made from three hundred to eight hundred pounds of isinglass annually over a period of some years. This product, a comparatively pure form of gelatine, was obtained mainly from the swimming bladder of the sturgeon, but could also be taken from other fish, such as catfish and cod. As early as 1694 London had written 'Wee should be glad if you could *procure us some Isinglass* being onely *the sound of sturgion dryed*, of wc. wee are Informed great quantitys may be had, that Comodity is alsoe very currant here'. The principal use of isinglass was in the clarifying of wines and other liquors; the Hudson's Bay men also found it made excellent glue. Valuable though it was, it was credited at Langley at a mere six shillings a pound; during the Crimean war, when supplies from Russia were cut off, up to $14 a pound was offered for it in San Francisco.

Among the Indians of British Columbia's coastal waters, oolachen oil was a most important product. The people used the oil of this little fish themselves and traded it with the tribes of the Interior. So much of this oil was carried inland that the trails the people followed became known as 'grease trails'. The oil was used as olive oil and butter are used today. Dr John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver thought that this might be a worthwhile product and in 1842 he sent four jars of it back to London together with '1 cask Spermaceti or Brain Matter, some sea horse Teeth & sea horse & sea lion Hides for trial in the English market.' The next year the Committee reported that 'The fish oil has not yet been disposed of, the only offer we have had for it and the brain matter being 3s. p. Gallon'.

Salmon was another matter altogether. During the first years at Langley, Chief Trader Archibald McDonald bought salmon from the Indians as food for his men, and he, like many who came after him, must have been astonished at the abundance of the fish in their annual rush to the spawning beds. Shipments of salmon – disappointing at first because the barrels leaked – were highly profitable once this had been corrected. Competent coopers were employed and the men sent out to look for suitable timber for barrel making. This they found in a stand of white pine on the north side of the Fraser River surrounding a lake that is still called Stave Lake, for here they cut timber for barrel staves.

Salmon – smoked, dried, or salted – was produced in quantities. Much of it was sent to the inland posts where each man was allowed three fish a day as rations. Governor Simpson in his journey of 1828 to the Columbia noted that in eleven months about 12,000 salmon were 'consumed exclusively for the district'.

By 1850, James Murray Yale who succeeded McDonald at Fort Langley, was sending salmon to the Sandwich

Islands, now Hawaii, at $16 a barrel, and in time this industry increased to a healthy 2,000 barrels a year, one of the most profitable of the many ventures essayed.

In 1852 two men not connected with the H B C, Captain James Cooper and a Captain Webster, rightly guessed that there was a huge market for cranberries in San Francisco following the 1849 gold rush. When they bought barrels from Yale at Fort Langley to ship the cranberries, Yale saw the potential of the idea and moved into the cranberry business with a will. More barrels were made by the cooper, more berries were gathered by the Indians, and larger shipments were made to San Francisco and Hawaii.

In early years most drugs were derived from plants and minerals. The London office was not slow to appreciate that there might well be plants in the New World that could be used to produce drugs and they urged their people to keep their eyes open. In 1689 they wrote: 'Wee *Desire your Incouragemt. to the Indians, to seeke for . . . any Druggs or Dyeing Ware Upon your Promise to Trade'*. Again in 1696, they came back to the same subject: '. . . wee Recomend to you the sending what you can, as *alsoe Munke Rubarb* & if *any other drugg's comes to your hands* send us alsoe Samples thereof.' Monk's Rhubarb was the common dock, valued in those days as a 'blood tonic'. It was eaten as 'greens', as spinach and beet tops are today.

The continual requests did not meet with an enthusiastic reception in the trading posts. Thomas White, in charge of York Factory, said that his 'Time and Thoughts' were 'Sufficiently Employed in what was more conducive'.

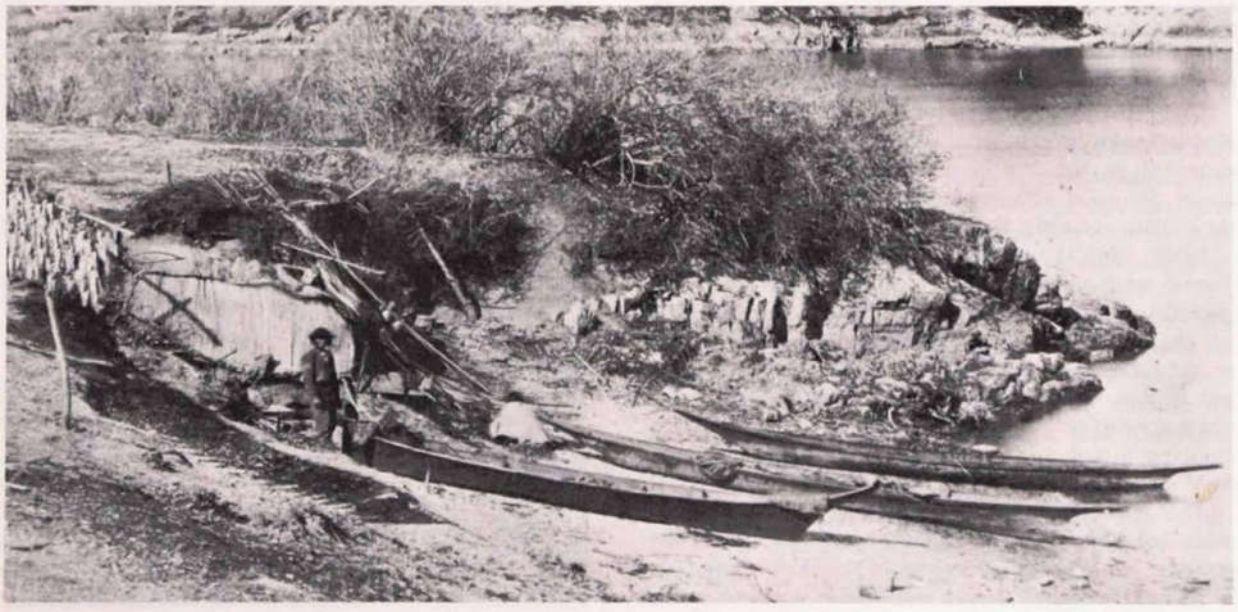
Always on the look-out for profitable ventures, the Committee did not overlook the dense forests with their apparently unlimited supply of timber. About 1809 the suggestion was made that it might be to the Company's advantage to forget the fur trade and go in for lumbering, or perhaps carry on both enterprises. It is true that the trees on the west side of Hudson Bay were small and there could be little or no profit in cutting them. At Fort Vancouver, however, the lumber business met with considerable success. Both San Francisco and Hawaii were in the market for building materials and a profitable trade was established, with a large sawmill busily turning out thousands of board feet at comparatively low cost. This operation apparently continued until the government of the United States of America took over the old settlement in 1849.

With such an abundance of coniferous trees it occurred to the London Committee that it should be possible to extract turpentine from them and the attention of the post managers was called to this fact. In 1692 they wrote '. . . we shall have . . . cheaper Druggs & mineralls . . . wee are Satisfied there are many, therefore pray faile not to send home this Yeare & Every Yeare Samples of all such as you Can gett, as allso some Turpentine wch. comes from the Trees their, altho' it be but a bottle, wch. we know hath been brought home by some Seamen'.

The following year they repeated their request: 'We are informed that there may *be both turpentine* and *Tarr procured with you* if soe *pray use your endevor to procure it* they both being very deare with us especially the former'.

Attention seems to have been paid to these requests, for next year's letter (1694) said: 'Wee perceive that you

An Indian fisherman with his catch of salmon drying in the sun along a river bank in British Columbia, c. 1870.



PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

Furs are pressed and baled at the H B C store at Spence Bay, 1956.

have made an experiment in distilling Turpentine But wee find the Turpintine it selfe to be of much more value than the oyle *therefore desire all the Turpintine you can procure to be sent us undistilled in good tyte cask being a very currant Comodity here.'* The net results appear to have been two sample bottles.

One plant that had a curious, though limited, success was Labrador tea, or Hudson's Bay tea, which is still abundant in the North, growing in wet and marshy places. It makes acceptable tea, and was much used by the Indians and early settlers.

Isham tried it and noted: 'Plants of Physicky Herb's Several are growing in these parts one of Which they styl (wishakapucka) which is us'd as a perge or fomentation, but the English in these parts makes a Drink of itt, going by the Name of wishakapucka tea, being of fine flavour, and Reckon'd Very Wholesome – I was troubled Very much my Self with a Nervious Disorder, but by Constant Drinking 1 pint made strong for three months Entirely cur'd me'.

This tea was already well known in England and the plant had been used to keep mice and rats out of the granaries, to fight clothes-moths in the closets, and fleas in the bed. It created quite a sensation at one time, being thought of as a rival for Chinese tea, for the Chinese themselves grew quite fond of it. No less than eight hogsheads were sent from the Bay to England in one year, and then the trade suddenly ceased. Its Cree name wishakapucka – the louse's canoe – was derived from its inch-long, rolled-up leaves.

The beasts, the birds, the fishes, and the flowers and trees of the forest, all were examined and considered, not often with much reward. There remained the possibilities of copper, mica, lead, precious metals, and rare jewels. Then too, there were the more prosaic but equally valuable things: coal, lime, and building stone. These thoughts had not escaped the Governor and Committee in London and in 1696 they wrote: '. . . *send us home great quantetyes . . . of the greene earth, & of the red Cullered earth, and of any Mineralls or stones whatsoever. send them in as large Quanteties as our ship hath roome to spare to take in, & not in little peeces, for then we can better make the tryall of any thing.'*

Almost literally, no stone was left unturned, no avenue unexplored, but all to little avail. Furs remained the mainstay of Company trade throughout the first two and a half centuries – and continue to be profitable in northern settlements to the present day. ◆

The Icelanders — Their Ontario Year

By Jean Elford, author of *A History of Lambton Country.*

THE WORD 'PIONEER' in Canada is synonymous with hardship. The experience of the Icelandic pioneers of 1874 reinforces this concept. Though they came late enough to travel by steamboat and train, they endured as many hardships enroute from Iceland to Gimli, Manitoba as other settlers who, forty or fifty years earlier, came to Eastern Canada by sailing ship and travelled inland by stagecoach and on foot.

The Icelanders spent a year in Ontario before moving to Manitoba. They had been encouraged to emigrate by their countrymen, who wrote letters describing the prosperity they enjoyed in the United States. They were further persuaded by accounts sent home by Sigtryggur Jonasson, then 22 years of age, who had come to Canada in 1872, and by the fact that a number of their compatriots had made homes for themselves in Rousseau, Ontario a year earlier.

While a few single young men might readily have settled, the group of 352 persons who came to Ontario in 1874 were at a disadvantage because of their numbers and because of their desire to stay together. Such a large group could not be accommodated in an established area, while in outlying districts there were few opportunities for employment. Because they brought their families, the men were not free to travel about to seek suitable land and satisfactory employment.

Sigtryggur Jonasson.

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

The people were handicapped further in being in the vanguard of the emigration from Iceland. While settlers from the British Isles were advised of the availability of good land by other Britishers who had come before them, the Icelanders arrived knowing little of the nature of the country, its language and its way of life. In Iceland they had raised livestock and fished for a living. In Canada they were cut off from the sea and the best means of establishing themselves lay in clearing land and raising cash crops. Their livestock they could not bring and they had no funds to buy more. Day labour was available – as 'navvies' – but this was alien to them.

Nor did they time their arrival well. The 1870s were times of depression in Canada. To add to their hardships, they reached Quebec in September with winter just ahead. A spring arrival would have given them months of good weather to ensure adequate housing, a vegetable garden, and a chance to lay in supplies. As it was they were dependent on day labour for their winter needs.

Though not an improvident people, their cash supply had almost disappeared by the time they reached Canada. With a deposit of $500, 540 people had booked passage on a Norwegian steamer due to sail out of Eyja Fjördur in July 1874. They left their homes and, carrying their baggage, went to the port to wait for the ship. She failed to come. The expense of living away from home forced some to return to their villages. At the end of six weeks the remainder took passage on the *St. Patrick* at $35 each. They arrived at Quebec on the 23 September, worn out after a difficult passage and ill from unfamiliar food.

Even at this stage the immigrants did not know where they were going to settle. Their original intention had been to go to Nova Scotia, and an immigration agent from that province did persuade thirteen of them to go there. Their countryman, Sigtryggur Jonasson, met them in Quebec and prevailed on the rest to come to Kinmount, Ontario, a small hamlet in Victoria County. He had been authorized by the Ontario department of immigration to extend the invitation. He had consulted the Icelanders who had come to Rosseau, Ontario the year before, and they had suggested that Kinmount, southeast of Rosseau, would be a desirable location for the new arrivals.

One of the pioneers, Simon Simonson, tells of the journey from Quebec in his *Reminiscences.*

That night we moved into the coaches, which the majority thought a considerable novelty so very different from anything

at home. We proceeded to Montreal, where we had a meal and then went on to Toronto. On the evening of the twenty-fourth, we moved into the immigration shed.

The Icelanders lived in the shed for two weeks while accommodations were prepared for them at Kinmount. They expected to find a house and some cleared land for each family awaiting them. Whether their expectations were justified or not is open to question. Nova Scotia did provide in this way for its immigrants and it could be that such a promise had been made. At that time, in an effort to bring in settlers, many promises were made by immigration agents whose salary varied according to the number of people they attracted to the province that hired them.

From Toronto, the Icelanders travelled by train one hundred miles north to the end of the rail at Coboconk. Then they travelled another fourteen miles over a rutty trail either on foot or seated in horse-drawn baggage wagons. Simonson describes their arrival:

. . . the people were dumped out of the wagons under the trees in darkness such as I have scarcely seen the like. We knew not where to go and had the sick children on our hands . . . Two of our countrymen came bringing a faint light, and directed us to a hovel which was under construction . . . The following day the people were allocated to the newly built huts . . . our family, and eight others, were assigned to number four hut. It will be left to the imagination what the atmosphere was like inside . . . the walls and gable ends of logs and the roof of boards. The beds were one above the other, with end to the wall . . . such illness prevailed in these huts that the poor children were stricken wholesale.

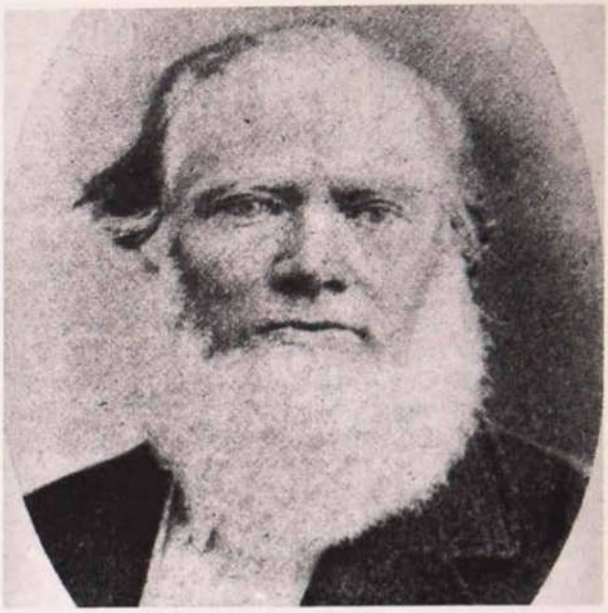
Elderly people were worn out with the journey by this time, and the children suffered not only from fatigue but from lack of a suitable diet. Simonson continues:

Most bitter of all, for me, it was to see my little Guorun suffering intensely and to be unable to ease her suffering. She kept nothing down. There was little milk to be had and what little there was, was not good. About nine days from the time Guorun became ill, God took her to himself, in his merciful embrace.

During that winter there were twenty-four deaths among the Icelanders, and of eight children born, five died.

In addition to the deaths, sickness and their overwhelming disappointment, the Icelanders found few opportunities for employment. Work began on the Victoria Railway on their arrival, but there were more men than jobs. The company exploited this over-supply of labour, reducing wages from one dollar to ninety cents a day. The men found the work hard, for they were not accustomed to that form of labour and were in poor physical condition after their arduous journey. One man who worked as many days as any of the group was employed for fewer than one hundred days between the middle of October and the middle of March when the job came to a halt due to lack of capital.

Of those who could not find work on the railway, some hired out as farm servants in return for board for themselves and their families. Sigtryggur Jonasson, who



John Taylor.

had set up a store along with Fridjon Frederickson of Minnesota, wrote to the Ontario immigration department in January stating that there were 'over twenty-five men out of work of whom quite a number is married men with families. I can not supply them anymore so they have either got to get work or starve.'

At this juncture, a representative of the Bible Society, John Taylor, stationed at a mission near them, turned his attention to helping the Icelanders. First he tried to have a school established for the children, but later seemed to feel that some form of adult education would be of more service. He wrote to the superintendent of the Ontario department of education on 15 January 1875:

I received your letter informing me of an appropriation for a 'temporary' building . . .

I have been indulging the hope of seeing these Icelanders settled so comfortably among us as to induce many thousands of their fellow countrymen to join them . . . what a great advantage we now have presented to us for setting up this back country with a hardy and suitable class of people . . . Is it not possible for our government with so much surplus revenue to adopt some liberal and comprehensive measure having this desirable end in view, namely, the occupation of our now useless wild lands by such a quiet and contented people as these . . .

If some influential friend could only be found to obtain from the Government a grant of land and money to establish a model farm in these back townships, where both employment and education could be given to those who required it, the whole question would be at once satisfactorily settled.

The Icelanders tried hard to better their situation. Thirty-eight went to Nova Scotia on the advice of Johannes Arngrimsson, a government agent from that province. Others went to Lindsay to work in the sawmills. Thirty-one married men contracted to take up

four thousand acres of wild land but could not get the clearing done in time for spring planting. Those who had work could not afford to leave their jobs to get the land ready; the rest had no money to establish themselves. Moreover, a careful examination of the soil showed it to be infertile and thin.

Utterly discouraged the Icelanders, both at Kinmount and in the Rosseau settlement, thought they would be better off if by some means they could reach the western plains. The new province of Manitoba at that time was attracting settlers from Ontario. John Taylor offered to go to Ottawa to seek support from the federal government towards establishing the Icelanders there.

Taylor found that federal government officials had little interest in his request and that no funds were designated for moving immigrants from one part of the country to another. It seemed that nothing could be done. Then Lord Dufferin, the Governor General, interceded. He had visited Iceland when a young man and had great admiration for the islanders. He pointed out that the department of agriculture might legitimately help to establish these settlers on western farm land. On his request, the department financed a delegation to go west to select a suitable locality for the colony.

Meanwhile spring came and the jobs promised to the Icelanders on the roads and railroads did not materialize. A letter written by Sigtryggur Jonasson to the Ontario department of immigration described their unenviable position.

As the last $60.00 worth of provisions . . . was distributed among the poorest families on the 4th inst. it is about consumed now, and as no work will, for ten days at least, be started, these families will be equally needy for this space of time as these two last months, as I am placed in such a position that I cannot possibly, on my own responsibility advance them anything till they have commenced work. I therefore apply to the Department on this account to authorize sixty dollars more.

A month later Jonasson wrote again to the immigration department stating that:

. . . work had not been commenced on the Victoria Railway . . . There are 16 men left here without steady employment . . . is it not possible to start work on the Monk Road east of Kinmount, very soon, so that those poor men left here, who have large families, could get work.

During July, sickness added to their tribulations. An inspector from the provincial immigration department reported:

the absence of proper ventilation and carelessness in regard to diet are supposed to have caused the illness in question . . . one man had been unable to work for several weeks. He is suffering from pulmonary consumption and his recovery is improbable. His care has occupied the undivided attention of his wife and it is quite certain that they would have suffered from hunger had not Mr. Fredericksen . . . supplied them with provisions out of his store.

A young doctor, Joel Bates, attended the sick, but found that they could not pay him. He appealed to the Ontario department of immigration and his letter implied that since the department had brought these people to Ontario it was responsible for them. His statement read:

To medical attendance per Frederick Jonasson . . . 12 visits and medicine $18.50.

To medical attendance per Jason Thodason . . . 5 visits and medicine $10.00.

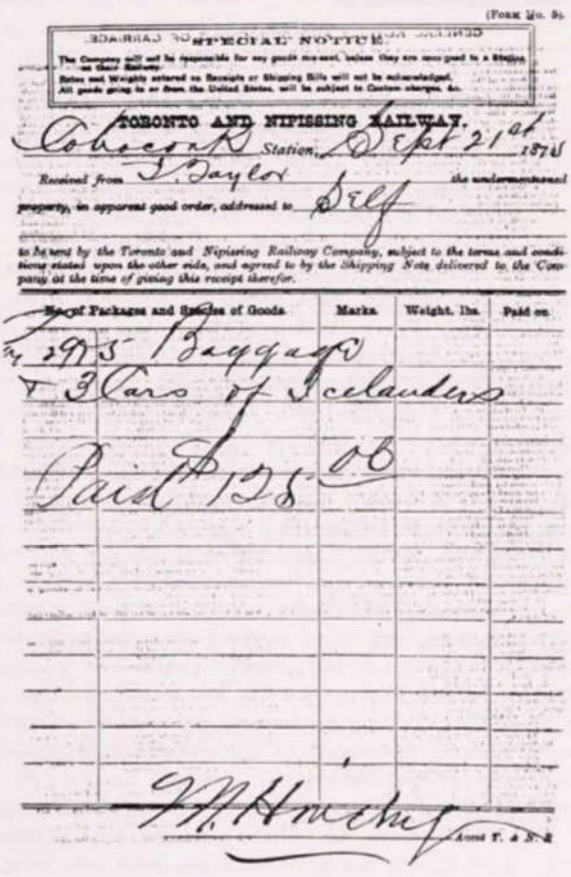
To three visits and medicine for Borga Thorladksdotter $2.50.

To one visit and medicine for Indriasson $1.50.

The English-speaking people of Kinmount petitioned the department to have the doctor paid and at the same time brought the plight of the Icelanders to the attention of the authorities. Their letter bore the signatures of eight men.

The Icelanders who have immigrated to this place are greatly in need of assistance, as the wages they are commanding are not sufficient to sustain them, and a number of them have been dangerously ill and are yet under the doctor's care. We have a resident doctor in Kinmount, who has been successfully treating them through charity . . . you would greatly favour the inhabitants of this place by using your influence in obtaining assistance from the Government on behalf of them as a remuneration for the doctor, as he has been very attentive.

Receipt for the fare by rail from Coboconk to Toronto.


(Form No. 5).

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Company will not be responsible for any goods not sent, unless they are sent paid to a Station on their Railway.
Rates and Weights entered on Receipts or Shipping Bills will not be acknowledged.
All goods going to or from the United States, will be subject to Custom charges, &c.

TORONTO AND NIPISSING RAILWAY.

Coboconk Station, Dept 21st 1875

Received from J. Taylor the undermentioned property, in apparent good order, addressed to Self

to be sent by the Toronto and Nipissing Railway Company, subject to the terms and conditions stated upon the other side, and agreed to by the Shipping Note delivered to the Company at the time of giving this receipt therefor.

No. of Packages and Species of Goods	Marks	Weight, lbs.	Paid on
295 Baggage			
3 Cars of Icelanders			
Paid $15.00			

J. H. Hewitt Agent T. & N. R.

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

The wooden steamer 'Ontario' carried the Icelanders from Sarnia to Duluth. From there they travelled by train to Crookston on the Red River.

While the Icelanders were undergoing these hardships, their delegates prepared to seek a place in Manitoba for a new settlement. On 2 July, Skafti Arason, Kristjan Jonsson, Einar Jonasson, Sigtryggur Jonasson, and John Taylor set out for Manitoba and were joined at Milwaukee by Sigurdur Kristofersson, representing the Icelanders of Wisconsin. Going by way of the Red River, the party journeyed into southern Manitoba. They found that for three years in succession grasshoppers had stripped the land of vegetation. The bodies of these insects lay in heaps along the river banks. This spectacle deterred the delegates from choosing land south of Winnipeg.

At Winnipeg the Hudson's Bay Company furnished the party with a York Boat. From there Joseph Monkman guided them further north, beyond what was then the northern boundary of Manitoba to the site of present-day Gimli. There they decided to found New Iceland. The area had timber, a waterway to Winnipeg, fishing, a large tract of unoccupied land, and no grasshoppers. If the line of the Canadian Pacific were to pass through Selkirk, as proposed, the Icelanders would have employment that would furnish cash for stock and machinery. No one seems to have considered the isolation, the severe climate, and the heavy soil.

On his return to Ontario, Taylor reported the findings of the delegation to the federal department of agriculture, and solicited funds to take the Icelanders west. John Lowe, secretary of the department, sent him final instructions on 15 September 1875:

> I am directed by the Minister of agriculture to inform you that it has been decided to afford assistance to the Icelanders now in Ontario, understood to number about 200 adults, in order to enable them to proceed to a settlement selected by the deputation accompanied by you, on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg, north of the Province of Manitoba, in the following manner: A sum of $5000 will be granted by the government, $2500 of which will be given as an aid towards such removal, and $2500 will be afforded as an advance to the Icelanders to be repaid after settlement, and for security of such repayment the guarantee of the Hudson Bay Co. will be taken, or bonds from the settlers under the provision of the Dominion Lands Act . . .
>
> You are authorized to buy necessary supplies for the Icelanders for use on their way to the new settlement before starting to an amount not exceeding $1000 . . .
>
> The Icelanders on arriving at Toronto from Kinmount can be temporarily lodged at the government immigration Station . . .
>
> Tickets for the Transport of the Icelanders will be furnished by Messrs. J.&H. Beatty & Co., from Toronto to Winnipeg upon application by you to them for $14 per adult, children under 12 years of age half price, and under 4 years free . . . the usual quantities of baggage free.
>
> A sum of $1500 is herewith furnished to you in order to defray the expense of removing the Icelanders from Winnipeg to their reserve and placing them upon it . . .
>
> Your service will be engaged for a period of eight months from this date, at a rate of pay of $100 per month, and your duties will be to assist the Icelanders in their first settlement . . .

Within six days after the arrival of this letter close to two hundred Icelanders had assembled from points

within a radius of one hundred miles of Kinmount and were on their way to Toronto by train. Those who had livestock sold it for what they could get. Those who had crops left them unharvested. Those who had employment left it reluctantly.

At Toronto they were joined by others of their countrymen bringing their party to 208 persons. With the exception of Sigtryggur Jonasson who left them here to go to Iceland to find more immigrants, the settlers travelled by train to Sarnia. They passed through the fertile settled lands of Southern Ontario, and Simon Simonson noted in his *Reminiscences:*

On the way to Sarnia, a distance of about 250 - 260 miles, there were beautiful towns and attractive settlements.

They stayed overnight at Sarnia and boarded the Beatty steamer *Ontario* the next morning. This wooden ship had been built the year before in Chatham, Ontario for 'Beatty's Sarnia and Lake Superior Royal Mail and Express Line'. She measured one hundred and eighty-one feet in length, thirty-five feet in the beam and drew twelve feet. Advertisements described her as the largest Canadian ship in the Lake Superior trade. Mr Simonson continued his account of the journey:

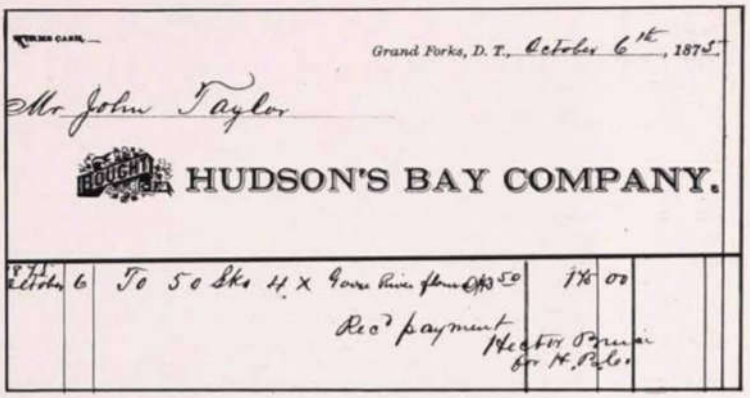
When cargo goods, luggage, and other litter had been stacked on board, and a quantity of livestock including horses, cattle, pigs, sheep and poultry had been squeezed in, our turn came and we were packed like sardines on top of the luggage. No one was permitted to leave his place, so were compelled to sit there and endure the stench of the livestock. The boat was so small and so unstable that two of the crew were continuously on the go with two sand-barrels rolling them against the list . . . In addition we met with rough weather, and all this we had to suffer for the duration of the voyage to Duluth which lasted almost five days . . . The owners' purpose was obviously to make as much profit as possible, and they gave no thought to the passengers' comfort.

In fact, the profits to Beatty's from the trip must have been small. The regular single fare was $35.00 from Toronto to Winnipeg and the Icelanders travelled for $14.00 each, with an additional $300 for their 60,000 pounds of baggage.

To be sure the journey was not a luxury cruise. The fare did not cover meals, apparently, for Taylor bought provisions at Sarnia, Goderich, Sault Ste Marie, Duluth, Glyndon, Fisher's Landing, Grand Forks, and finally, aboard a Red River steamer.

At Duluth they were joined by eight Icelanders from Wisconsin and continued their trip across Minnesota by train. At one point when they changed trains, they stayed in an old blacksmith shop overnight to wait for the next train. This one took them to Crookston on the Red River, a town so new that the majority of the inhabitants were living in tents.

There they boarded flat-bottomed open boats and sat on top of the baggage while a wood-burning steamer towed them down the river. As they sailed northward, they stopped frequently to unload goods at towns and villages along the way and to take on wood to fuel the boilers. The steamer ran aground occasionally and the men had to wade into the river to push her free.

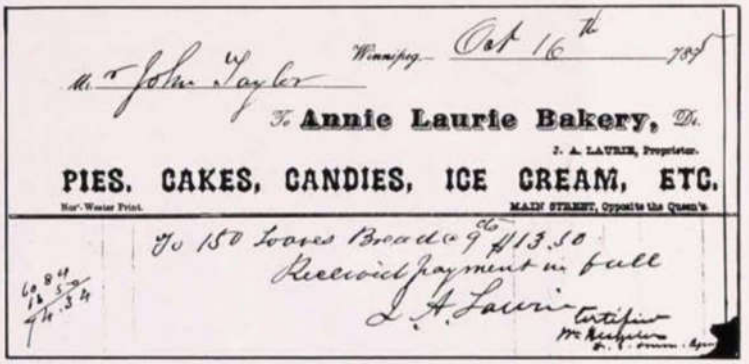

Grand Forks, D. T., October 6th, 1875

Mr John Taylor

BOUGHT OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

October	6	To 50 Bks 4/4 x 9 Rose River flour @ $3.50		175	00
		Rec'd payment Hector Sinclair for H.B.Co.			

Supplies purchased on the way included flour at $3.50 a sack.


Winnipeg Oct 16th 1875

Mr John Taylor

To **Annie Laurie Bakery,** Dr.

J. A. LAURIE, Proprietor.

PIES. CAKES, CANDIES, ICE CREAM, ETC.

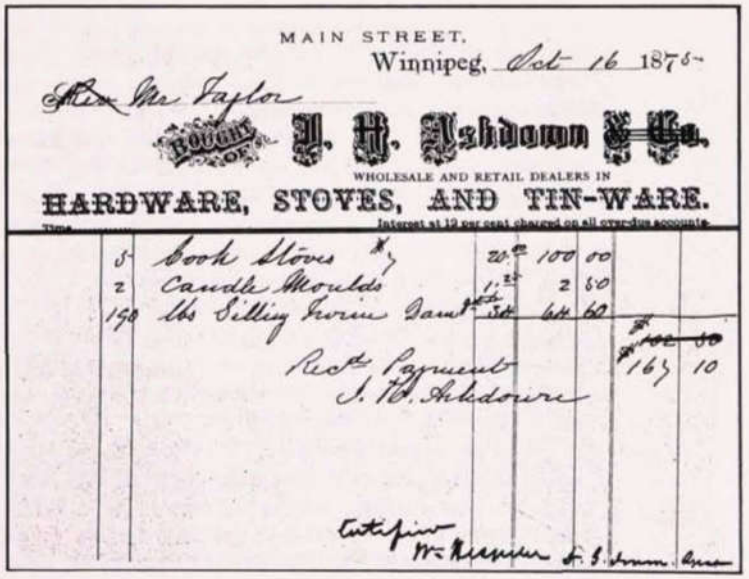
Nor'-Wester Print. MAIN STREET, Opposite the Queen's

To 150 Loaves Bread @ 9c $13.50

Received payment in full

L. A. Laurie

In Winnipeg, on 16 October, bread sold on Main Street for nine cents a loaf and cookstoves for $20.00 each.


MAIN STREET,

Winnipeg, Oct 16 1875

Mr Taylor

BOUGHT OF J. H. Ashdown & Co.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALERS IN

HARDWARE, STOVES, AND TIN-WARE.

Interest at 12 per cent charged on all overdue accounts.

8	Cook Stoves No 7	20	100	00	
2	Candle Moulds	1 1/2	2	80	
190	lbs Selling Iron Sand Pd	5c	64	60	
					~~167 80~~
	Rec'd Payment J. H. Ashdown				167 10

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

The arrival at Willow Point by Arni Sigurdson, 1950.

On 15 October they landed at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers at Upper Fort Garry. There the men unloaded the baggage and the party was quartered in an immigration shed.

During their stay in Winnipeg, Taylor purchased supplies valued at $4,000 from the Hudson's Bay Company and borrowed another $1,000 from the Company to buy other goods – two candle moulds, five cookstoves, fishing twine, and firearms. He also laid in a supply of beef and bread for immediate needs.

From Winnipeg, Taylor had intended to hire a steamer to take the settlers north to Gimli, but he found it would cost $1,000. As this sum was beyond the means provided, he bought six old flat-bottomed boats, two skiffs, and the lumber to repair them.

When the repairs were made, the party set out again on 17 October, the men rowing the boats heavily laden with goods and people. At the entrance to Lake Winnipeg, Taylor hired the H B C steamer, *Colvile* under Captain G. Hackland to tow the boats across the open water of the lake. At the outset, one of the rowboats caught in the propellor of the steamer and a quantity of winter goods was spoiled.

On their arrival at Willow Bar on the afternoon of 21 October John Taylor wrote a letter which he sent back with the steamer to John Lowe, a secretary of the department of agriculture at Ottawa. He headed the letter, 'Gimli, New Iceland, North West Territory, October 21, 1875.' It read in part:

> I have the honour to announce to you the safe arrival here of the party of Icelanders under my charge . . .
>
> I have a few cases of sickness resulting from much exposure in travelling four weeks and four days. No deaths but one birth last night, a male child, our first native born citizen.

On this day the Icelandic settlers began their new lives in an isolated wilderness at the beginning of the long northern winter. In the summer of 1877, Lord Dufferin visited the settlement and in his official address said 'I have pledged my official honour to my Canadian brethern that you will succeed.' In spite of the hardships endured, the Icelanders of Gimli, through their industry, thrift, and strong resolution more than justified the faith that Lord Dufferin placed in them. ◆

LONDON CORRESPONDENCE INWARD FROM SIR GEORGE SIMPSON, 1841-42.

Edited by Glyndwr Williams with an introduction by John S. Galbraith. The Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. XXIX, London, 1973. lviii, 212 pages, map. Issued to members of the Society.

Applications for membership, $5 a year, one volume published every second year, should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Hudson's Bay Record Society, Beaver House, Great Trinity Lane, London, EC4V 2AX England.

Reviewed by L. G. Thomas

If Governor Simpson had had access to a xerox copier to multiply the volume of his paperwork it seems unthinkable that the Hudson's Bay Company would ever have conceived the project of moving its archives from London to Winnipeg. Even with the limited facilities for mechanical transcription and reproduction of the nineteenth century and even though he dated many of his letters from points far beyond the outer fringes of civilization, and presumably with very unreliable postal service, Sir George achieved a tonnage that must impress today's most devoted bureaucrat. Yet his most astringent critics have never questioned the efficiency of his business operations and his massive correspondence remains as testimony to the vital importance of paperwork to the successful conduct of an enterprise that girdled the globe.

The letters here printed are those that Simpson wrote to the Governor and Committee in London during his journey round the world in 1841 and 1842. As the General Editor points out these are only a fraction of Simpson's business correspondence of the period but others of his letters are drawn upon to supplement or explain the London-bound letters. That none of the manuscripts is in 'Simpson's own distinctive hand' seems scarcely surprising, for by 1841 Simpson was having trouble with his eyes and was very glad of the services of such a competent shorthand writer as Edward Martin Hopkins. According to Appendix A 'The Correspondence: Notes on the Manuscript Originals and Copies' all the manuscripts used are in Hopkins's hand, although as Hopkins was not with Simpson in Russia one, at least, is a copy by him in London. This Appendix has a special interest as a demonstration of the impressive expertise developed by the Hudson's Bay Company Archives staff.

The relationship between these letters and Simpson's authorship of his *Narrative of a journey round the world, during the years 1841 and 1842* is discussed in Appendix B. The conclusion is that, in essence, the *Narrative* is Simpson's book. Hopkins and Thomas Lowe acted simply as amanuenses. Adam Thom and Archibald Barclay made more substantial contributions. 'The style of the book is theirs, and they appear to have been responsible for much of the subject-matter, particularly the numerous historical, geographical and philosophical discursions.' But 'the first-hand accounts of the regions traversed' were from his notes and when asked by a Parliamentary Committee whether the book should be taken as his view of the country, the Governor could conscientiously answer with a simple 'Yes'.

Professor Galbraith's introduction also discusses the relationship between the *Narrative* and the letters and he sees the letters as more revealing of 'the essential Simpson', then at the height of his powers as 'a virtuoso of the managerial art'. This was 'unquestionably one of the great business leaders of Victorian Britain' even though, as Professor Galbraith puts it in a masterly understatement, 'the reader may not feel emotionally drawn to the Simpson which this correspondence reveals'. Perhaps this is why no satisfactory biography of Simpson exists. Certainly the materials are more than abundant and the background has been well worked by the two Mortons, by E. E. Rich and by Professor Galbraith himself, to mention only the most distinguished toilers in this particular vineyard.

This is the twenty-ninth volume in this admirable and indispensable series and any serious student of the history of Canada would grudge the loss of any one of the twenty-nine. Certainly no other corporation has made a comparable contribution. But the thrust of the series has been outward from the metropolis. The selection of materials has been made and the introductions have been written, models of scholarship though they are, to throw light on an overseas operation of British business enterprise. But the Hudson's Bay Company was more than a highly successful commercial enterprise; it was the creator of a Canadian society. Students of the history of the British North American West before 1870 are increasingly interested in that society. Now that the business history of the Company has been so thoroughly and ably explored there is room for volumes that would make available in print some of the wealth of material for social history in its archives and which in their introductions could expand the process by which a trading company became the vehicle for social change in nearly half a continent.

L. G. Thomas is Professor of History at the University of Alberta in Edmonton.

THUNDER BAY DISTRICT 1821 - 1829

A Collection of Documents

Edited with an Introduction by Elizabeth Arthur. The Champlain Society for the Government of Ontario, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1973. 307 pp., illus. $10.00

Reviewed by K. C. A. Dawson

The ninth in a series of regional documentary histories sponsored by the Ontario government, this volume, like the others, is a model of organization and scholarship, reflecting tireless research. It presents a new and original contribution to our knowledge of the opening up of the formidable shield country which lies between eastern and western Canada north of Superior. Opinions expressed by those who explored the district for the British government suggested an impregnable hostile country of rock and forest. Dr Arthur documents the slow and often painful settlement which took place despite a prevailing negativism.

The extensive bibliography lists manuscript groups in various archives and depositories, newspapers, periodicals, contemporary descriptions, and official reports. The documents

selected by the author from this large accumulation of primary sources reflect her critical judgement. They form the basis for the 205-page introduction to the period. The introduction and the documents are arranged in sections ordered chronologically to stress three distinct transitional stages: that following the amalgamation of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies (1821 - 1855), that following the opening of the canal at Sault Ste. Marie (1856 - 1869) and that following Wolseley's expedition (1870 - 1892). The presentation is further illuminated throughout by innumerable footnotes in addition to three maps and 18 black and white plates of persons and places, and following the bibliography is a full index.

The first and by far the longest section deals with the political jurisdiction over the district. It covers the entire time span whereas other sections cover selected time periods and such aspects of settlement and development as mining, transcontinental railway building and coincident evolution of communities with reflections on their precarious base, jealousies, and currying of government and company favours to ensure survival. While the introduction gives a clear picture of defeat and neglect, it does, however, tend to obscure the enthusiastic affinity for the region envinced by the 'labouring classes', who, notwithstanding the difficulties, did become the basic group around which communities and farm settlements grew.

Dr Arthur minutely documents the ebb and flow of interest which saw the strained settlement of the district and concludes: 'What was apparent was negative rather than positive – a common sense of grievance against outside authorities ignorant of the local situation, unaware of the needs or even the geographic location of the area.' The period clearly set permanently the character of the citizens of the district for the concluding remarks might be heard to this day. Regrettably the author did not permit herself to take a clearly defined position on the events which she records with such painstaking exactitude. As a qualified historian she would certainly have a right to do so and Northwestern Ontario could benefit from an enlivened argument about its own history. One might hope that Dr Arthur will give us the benefit of her own critical evaluation of the region in a future publication.

The volume makes a welcome and long-awaited contribution to an area little known and little understood in Canadian history. For those with a general interest in history the documents make enjoyable reading; for the specialist and researcher the volume should prove extremely useful as source material.

Dr Arthur has performed a real service in presenting to Canada, for the first time, the 'grey facts' of Northwestern Ontario's entry into the Canadian political and economic arena during the nineteenth century.

K. C. A. Dawson, Chairman, Department of Anthropology at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, for the past decade has been engaged in historical archaeological research in Northwestern Ontario.

SITTING BULL
The Years in Canada

By Grant MacEwan. Hurtig, Edmonton, 1973. 221 pp., illus. $8.95

Reviewed by John C. Ewers

Sitting Bull is the best-known and most written-about Plains Indian who ever lived. Even so, that portion of his dramatic career which was spent in Canada following the destruction of Custer's force on the Little Big Horn has received little attention from Sitting Bull's biographers. He was still public enemy number one in the American West when he led several thousand of his people northward into Canada in 1877. Frontiersmen on both sides of the border had reason to fear that Sitting Bull might persuade other warlike tribes and disgruntled Métis to join him in a war which might wipe out the scattered white settlements on either side of the boundary from the Red River to the Rockies. Memories of the Minnesota Massacre of 1862 were still fresh in the West.

MacEwan believes that such a gruesome happening was prevented by the real hero of his book – a courageous, pale-faced, scarlet-coated North West Mounted Police officer named James Morrow Walsh, who was in charge at Wood Mountain. It was he who met Sitting Bull soon after he crossed the line and impressed upon the chief and his followers the stern terms under which they might remain in Canada – no reservation, no government support, and strict adherence to British law which prohibited both killing and thievery, and made no racial distinctions.

For three years Walsh watched over Sitting Bull and his people, during which time the chief's attitude towards this white man changed from suspicion, to respect, to trust. Walsh took no stock in Sitting Bull's claim that he was a British Indian. He repeatedly advised the Sioux to return to his own country. But it was not until the extermination of the buffalo on the Canadian Plains that all but 50 or 60 lodges of Sitting Bull's followers returned to the States. And it was not until 'the Mee-joor' (Walsh) could convince 'Bull' that the Americans were not 'waiting like hungry wolves' to kill him, that the chief agreed to recross the line and surrender to the American Major Brotherton at Fort Buford on the Missouri.

MacEwan derives much of his information on Major Walsh's relationships with and influence upon Sitting Bull from Walsh's own papers in the Manitoba Archives. He gives little credence to criticisms of Walsh by detractors who included other officers of the North West Mounted Police. Walsh emerges as a strong, immensely patient, and effective law man.

Sitting Bull comes out second best. He appears as a consistently stubborn Indian, so wedded to his cultural past that he could see no future for himself save as a hunter. His fear for his life if he returned to the States probably was less groundless than either Walsh or MacEwan believed. For he was killed by Indian police who sought to arrest him during the Ghost Dance excitement of 1889-90, even though he was not 'the undisputed leader of the Messiah Craze' as the author claims. Perhaps MacEwan's Sitting Bull would be more believable had the author studied more thoroughly the chief's life before and after 'the years in Canada'.

Dr Ewers is Senior Ethnologist at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

PAINTERS IN A NEW LAND
From Annapolis Royal to the Klondike

By Michael Bell. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1973. 224 pp., illus. $22.50

Reviewed by J. Russell Harper

Painters in a New Land is a delight to both lovers of early Canada and lovers of 18th and 19th century provincial water-colours and drawings. It is lavishly illustrated with colour and

PAC

Fort Garry 1857, a water-colour by William Armstrong from 'Painters in a New Land' by Michael Bell.

black and white plates which breathe a nostalgic and romantic flavour of earlier years. These have been gleaned from the picture collection of the Public Archives of Canada. Michael Bell, in making his selection, was in the enviable position of having headed this collection for several years. He had the additional advantage of being the major organizer of the pictorial exhibition arranged to publicize the Public Archives holdings as part of its centennial celebrations during 1972. The 1972 exhibition catalogue has been refined and expanded into this handsome picture anthology drawn from an insufficiently known collection.

Perusal of the volume is a delightful meandering through the pages of history. One wanders from Newfoundland in the east (not Annapolis Royal as the subtitle suggests) to the Klondike in the far west. There are panoramic views of the launching of the celebrated steamship *Royal William* at Quebec in 1831, the *Great Britain* flying the Union Jack on Lake Ontario in 1839, and the harbour of Annapolis Royal full of men-of-war during the Seven Year's War. A whole section is devoted to fascinating Quebec views, often with British garrison troops backed by the distinctive architecture of this, the most romantic of all Canadian cities; from such views, one can turn to drawings of modest early Victorian houses in Brantford and Woodstock. Neat forts of the Hudson's Bay Company contrast with the colourful anarchy around saloons of the British Columbia gold rush frontier. One superb water-colour depicts a portage during Sir John Franklin's 1819 overland expedition along the Arctic Coast; the artist was the youthful Robert Hood who was murdered a few weeks later. Quebec fashion drawings of 1805 are an intimate domestic note in contrast to the panoramic events in Canadian history when battles during the 1837 rebellion set in motion the wheels of more democratic government or to other incidents which decided the fate of vast spaces.

Bell's visual anthology has been supplemented by selected textual extracts from contemporary travel literature. A few are bright and lively reading. The Toronto *Globe*'s satirical description of Prince Arthur turning the first sod for a new railway in 1869 is amusing. John Winslow's callous record in his 1755 journal of the Acadian removal is pure tragedy in contrast to the very human little incidents detailed by Jane Ellice during the 1838 uprisings. However, much Canadian travel literature, while informative, is dull. Occasionally the extracts do not really provide sufficient explanatory material to properly identify the paintings; a few judicious notes by the author would have cleared the mists. Extensive bibliographical references and artists' biographies do help those interested in further research.

The lack of gripping travel narrative has been only one of the author's difficulties. By confining his illustrations to the collection of the Public Archives of Canada, the book of necessity gives a somewhat spotty approach to the Canadian scene rather than an easily flowing chronological and geographical narrative. This demonstrates weaknesses in the national collection. Newfoundland, the newest Canadian province, is poorly represented as indeed it is in most Canadian pictorial collections. Momentous events during the prairie uprisings of 1870 and 1885 are a blank.

Books such as this raise the whole question of the ways in which optimum use can be made of such public collections. The Public Archives Collection is one of several major Canadian pictorial collections and there are innumerable smaller ones. One thinks of the riches in the Sigmund Samuel Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum, the Glenbow-Alberta Foundation in Calgary, the John Ross Robertson Collection in Toronto, and the J. C. Webster Collection in the New Brunswick Museum. Printed catalogues exist for some of these to the gratitude of those interested in the historical and artistic Canadian past. The resources of others are untapped because it is so often difficult to know what lurks in storage cases. The very size of Canada makes personal research difficult. The Public Archives of Canada

should take an aggressive lead in publishing catalogues of their holdings. In such a catalogue would be listed many superb items not mentioned by Bell such as the exquisite sketch books of Back, the Arctic explorer, and the balance in the series of Hood water-colours. *Painters in a New Land* evidently merely skims the fringe of the holdings.

Many owners of this volume, despite the distractions of profuse coloured plates, will find the introductory essay of particular interest. It sketches the climate which produced the visual panorama. The author has noted how technical improvements such as introduction of portable water-colour boxes with cakes of paint facilitated the outdoor artist. Another theme deals with the snatching of incentive from the painter by the photographic innovations. The author has blocked out a background of English self-satisfaction and imperialistic thinking which demanded self-aggrandizement made tangible in the painted record. He describes the English army officer who was a topographer, the magazine illustrator, and the resident professional who all catered to this need. There are references to style. One can quarrel with little, unless in such matters as the strange omission of George Heriot from the names of English army topographers. Yet the essay leaves this reviewer not entirely satisfied. Perhaps the difficulty is the feeling that it is permeated with 'tokenism', a feeling that the author has been aware of many facets requiring discussion, and has felt a need to pay token reference to each. This suggests that what is ultimately needed is a full and illuminating discussion of each separate aspect of the introductory essay. This criticism is not, therefore, really a quarrel with the book but rather a plea for more intensive probing into each of the several subjects raised in the introduction.

J. Russell Harper is art historian, author of numerous books on Canadian art and artists, and organizer of many special exhibitions.

ERRATUM

In the Summer issue, 1973, p. 26, a painting of the interior of Rory MacDonald's cabin in the Klondike was published. Alexander 'Klondike King' McDonald, seated at the table with the MacDonald brothers – John, Duncan, and Rory – and Mrs Rory MacDonald, was not related to this family.

INDIAN ARTS IN CANADA

By Olive Patricia Dickason, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1972. 138 pp., illus. $6.00.

Reviewed by Kay Kritzwiser

In her book, *Indian Arts in Canada*, published by Information Canada, author Olive Patricia Dickason quotes a poignant comment by a Nootka Indian, the author-painter-carver George Clutesi. In defending his opinion that the Indian must make his way in the contemporary world on his own terms, but with the full appreciation of the fact that he cannot turn the clock back, Clutesi wrote: 'The last canoe has moved downstream in the mist.'

That is one side of the situation where the Indian carvers, painters, and craftsmen of Canada are concerned. For the other side, Mrs Dickason comes to a conclusion hovering between optimism and doubt.

But it is a hopeful conclusion. Uncertain as everything is today for everyone, artist or not, the promise is strong, simply because there is a young generation of innovators at work, she feels, willing to take the vigour from the art of their ancestors to invigorate the art of their own tomorrows.

Indian Arts in Canada is objectively and tidily presented to us, but it is also extremely interesting. It is a compact assessment of an ancient tradition and a heritage whose importance the 20th century is now beginning to evaluate properly. Mrs Dickason's research is offered to us in bright, evocative language with apt phrase and selective choice of information which is most readable.

Two years ago, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development assigned the Ottawa scholar and former newspaperwoman to write a book on the state of Indian arts in Canada. She discovered that Indian arts today face a crisis – a word that is not too strong.

Simply stated, the Indian artist must make a decision: 'Should he accept his own culture as the wellspring for his inspiration, or should he assimilate into Western culture and express his creativity in art forms that give no indication of his particular cultural background?' Mrs Dickason painstakingly searches for clues to the answer. In the first place, Indian culture, stretching back 25,000 years to the first record of human habitation of North America, had a functional rather than an artistic role. Indians did not separate arts from crafts. As with the Eskimos no word for art, as such, exists in any of their languages.

But everything the Indian produced – fish hooks, bark dishes, dyed skin clothing – had a supernatural as well as a functional aspect. A hunter would be satisfied with nothing less than a patiently crafted fish hook, lest an inferior one might offend his gods. Mrs Dickason quotes Franz Boas: 'slovenly work does not occur in an untouched primitive culture.'

Like the Eskimos, the Indian's intent was to release the inherent qualities of his materials, with design, shape, and function related as an integrated whole. The author traces the end of functionalism and the beginning of non-utilitarian art. The span of inheritance behind today's Indian artists comes imaginatively alive in the comparisons made. Her examples, though admittedly subject to doubt, do make a stimulating comparative chronology.

'While Cretans of the late Minoan period were painting the wild boar hunt mural at the Palace of Tiryns in southern Greece about 1200 B.C., a Salish people of the Fraser River Valley were sculpturing small stone figures of high artistic quality; while the Acropolis was being built in 6th century Athens, the Mayans were building temples in Central America ... While Michelangelo, the towering genius of 16th century Italy, toiled prodigiously and argued with his patron Pope Julius II, Calusa Indians of the Florida Keys were carving wooden animals that are marvels of delicacy and realism'.

The arts of the Indians – his clothing, his tools, his implements – were later regarded in European eyes as curiosities and more as often baffling decorative arts. By the 20th century, with the leadership of innovators like Gauguin and Picasso, their expressions were regarded increasingly as primitive art.

In her chapter *Readjustment and Rebirth*, Mrs Dickason allows contemporary Indian artists of stature, like Norval Morriseau, Daphne Odjig, Alex Janvier, Allan Sapp, and a group of carvers and weavers, to speak for themselves. In the case of the handsome reproductions of contemporary work, they speak eloquently.

Kay Kritzwiser is art critic for the Toronto Globe and Mail.

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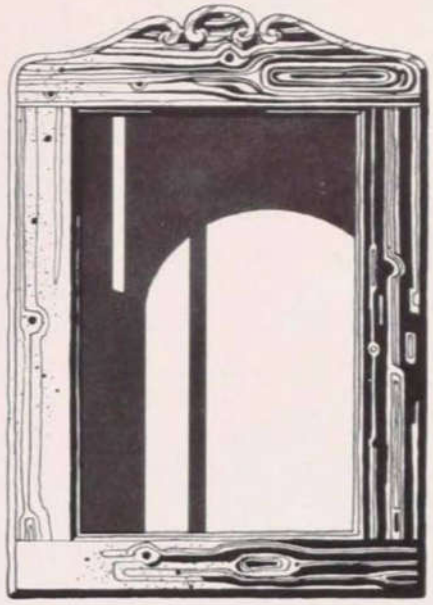
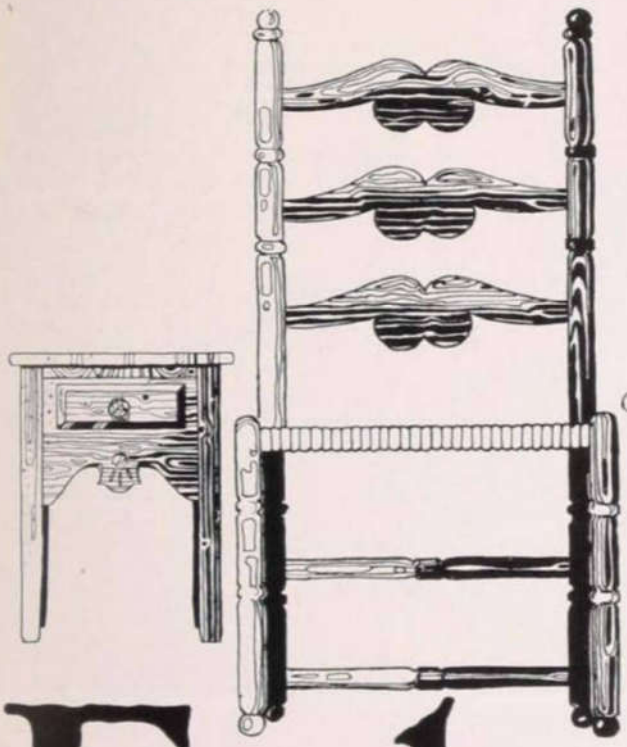
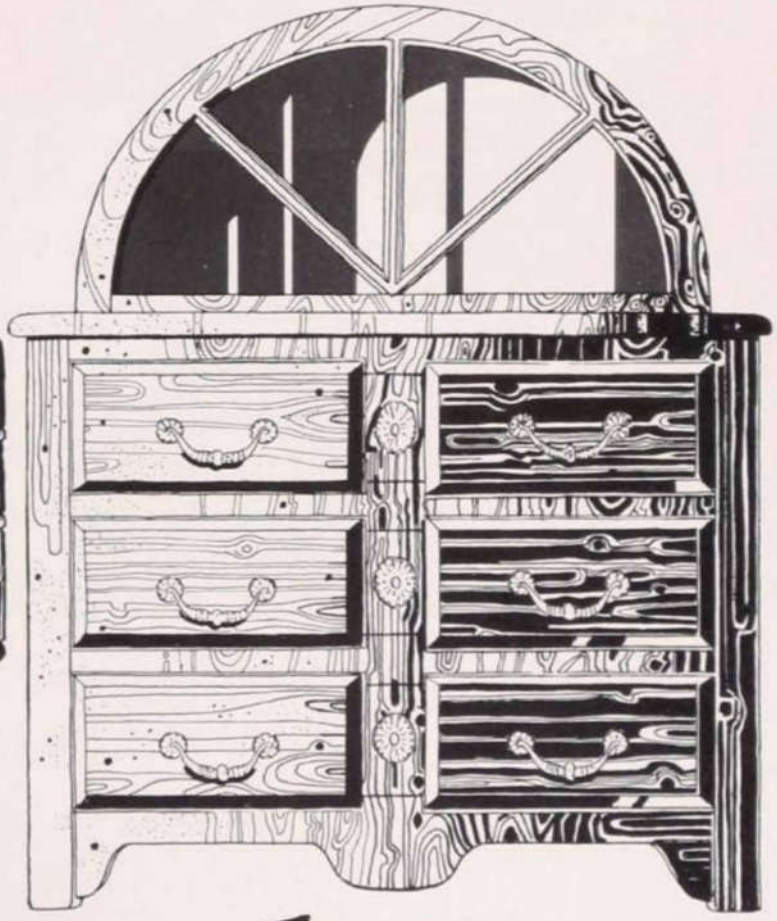
Hudson's Bay Company







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Hudson's Bay Company

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